ND80-630

ERIC REPORT RESUME

ED 010 092   10-06-66   24   (REV)
EFFECTS OF CLASS AND RACIAL BIAS ON TEACHER EVALUATION OF PUPILS.
ROTTER, GEORGE S.
JLI31893 LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY, BROOKLYN
BR-5-8013
CRP-S-311
  -   -66
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.27 HC-$7.28   180P.

*TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS, *STUDENT EVALUATION, TEACHER ATTITUDES, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS, *RACE INFLUENCES, RACIAL DIFFERENCES, *BEHAVIOR PATTERNS, STUDENT BEHAVIOR, SEX (CHARACTERISTICS), BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

THE PARTICULAR FOCUS OF THIS STUDY WAS UPON THE EXTENT TO WHICH VALUES AND ATTITUDES OF TEACHERS INFLUENCE THEIR EVALUATION AND RATINGS OF STUDENTS OF VARYING CLASSES AND ETHNIC ORIGINS. IT WAS HYPOTHESIZED THAT TEACHERS WITH MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUNDS AND BIASES TEND TO EVALUATE MORE NEGATIVELY THOSE PUPILS IDENTIFIED AS BEING OF A LOW SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS OR AS NEGRO THAN THOSE IN THE MIDDLE CLASS OR WHITE RACE. INCLUDED IN THESE CONSIDERATIONS WERE TEACHER ATTITUDES ON NEUROSIS AND BEHAVIOR, ACHIEVEMENT, AND NURTURANCE. APPROXIMATELY 130 WHITE FEMALE TEACHERS WERE RECRUITED FOR THE STUDY SAMPLE. EACH TEACHER PARTICIPATED BY READING A PREPARED VIGNETTE, COMPLETING 80 ITEMS RELATING TO PUPIL EVALUATION, ANSWERING A SELF-DESCRIPTION SCALE, AND FILLING OUT A PERSONAL DATA SHEET (BUT REMAINING ANONYMOUS). STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF DATA SHOWED THAT THE STATED HYPOTHESIS DID NOT RECEIVE CONFIRMATION IN THIS EXPERIMENT. FOR THE MOST PART, DIFFERENCES ON THE TEST ITEMS WERE NIL. WHEN THEY DID OCCUR, HOWEVER, THE RESPONSES FAVORED PUPILS IDENTIFIED AS NEGRO AND/OR LOW CLASS. NO OVERALL TREND COULD BE DISCERNED, WITH ONE EXCEPTION--NEGROES WERE RATED SUPERIOR TO WHITES IN CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR. THE ALMOST TOTAL LACK OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR RACE AND SEX AND THE VERY STRONG EFFECT OF SCHOOL BEHAVIOR SEEMED TO INDICATE VERY STRONG TEACHER IMPRESSIONS OF THE BEHAVIORAL ACTIONS OF STUDENTS. IN ADDITION, THE TENDENCY WAS TO RATE NEGRO/LOW-CLASS PUPILS MORE SUCCESSFUL OR ADJUSTED SOCIALLY THAN WHITE/MIDDLE-CLASS PUPILS BUT, AT THE SAME TIME, EVALUATE THEM LESS ADJUSTED PSYCHOLOGICALLY. NOTHING IN THIS STUDY, THEREFORE, SUPPORTED THE COMMON NOTION THAT CLASS AND RACIAL BIASES AFFECT TEACHER RATINGS AND EVALUATIONS. (JH)

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Cooperative Research Project No. 5-8013-2-12-1

George S. Rotter

Long Island University
Brooklyn, New York

1966

The research reported herein was supported by the Cooperative Research Program of the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

ED 010092

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Research Problem

As part of the formal education process, teachers are called upon regularly to make evaluations of the social and emotional adjustment of their pupils (Adams, 1964, p. 277). This practice has had a moderate vogue for about 30 years (Gage, Runkel, and Chatterjee, 1963). In New York City these evaluations are recorded on the child's report card which his parents see, and on the Elementary School Cumulative Record (New York City Board of Education) which is passed on from teacher to teacher and becomes the permanent record of the child. In addition, the teacher is the primary source of referral for placement in adjustment classes (Leton, undated). For these reasons, it becomes important to gain understanding into those processes that influence the teachers' evaluations.

The particular focus of this investigation is upon the extent to which the middle-class values and attitudes of teachers possibly influence their evaluations and ratings of children of varying class and ethnic origins. That teachers do possess such attitudes is not widely contested (see, e.g., McCandless, 1961, Chap. 14). Specifically, would these values lead to the differential evaluation of lower and middle class children even where their behaviors are similar, if not identical, to each other?

Not only are most teachers middle-class in outlook (e.g., McCandless, 1961, p. 459; Watson, 1966, p. 360), most are also white. The possibility occurs that the identification of a child as being either Negro or white would influence the teacher's evaluation of him. Certainly, there is no dearth of surveys demonstrating the pervasiveness of race prejudice. In addition, the social and emotional adjustment of the Negro child is the source of much interest and research (see Bloom, Davis and Kess, 1965, pp. 29-41). Therefore, as the question was posed for social class, would those attitudes held by white teachers lead to the differential evaluation of Negro and white children on their social and emotional adjustment even where their behaviors are similar, if not identical, to one another?

Related Research

That the motivational system of individuals can influence their perception of others and, hence, their evaluation and judgment, has been amply demonstrated and discussed elsewhere (see e.g., Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962, pp. 51-64; Tagiuri and Petrullo, 1958). For example, the halo effect has been described as a process wherein an individual tends to exaggerate the homogeneity of the personality of another (Krech, et al., 1962, p. 52). As a consequence, if one has a generally favorable impression of another person, this impression will tend to lead him to judge the other too high on desirable traits and too low on undesirable traits. Conversely, if one has a generally unfavorable impression, he will tend to judge the other too low on desirable traits and too high on undesirable traits (Krech, et al., 1962, p. 52). Stated in a somewhat different way, but more pertinent to this study, the halo effect involved judgments which have been contaminated (Guilford, 1954, p. 279) because of the intrusion of irrelevant, extraneous, or unwanted factors.

It is assumed that among middle-class individuals in the United States there generally exists an unfavorable impression of those possessing lower social status. As one example of the impact of this, Sherif, White, and Harvey (1955) reported that on a task involving throwing balls at a target, the performance of high status members was over-estimated by group members while the performance of low status members was under-estimated.

Further evidence for the operation of class bias appears in a study reported by Haase (1955). Rorschach protocols were accompanied by social service reports identifying the socio-economic class of patients. All protocols were, in fact, identical. Experienced examiners interpreted those protocols belonging to lower class patients as indicating poorer psychological adjustment than those belonging to higher class patients.

Elsewhere, it has been argued that due to their middle class attitudes, teachers find the behavior of lower class children to be generally unsatisfactory (Cohen, 1955, pp. 112-119; Hurlock, 1964, pp. 626-627). In their rather comprehensive review of the research on teacher attitudes, Bloom, Davis and Hess (1965, p. 75) conclude that teachers generally show more negative evaluations of disadvantaged children than of middle class children. However, it is unclear if such rejection tendencies arise wholly from the teachers' perceptions of the poor discipline and achievement motivation thought to be characteristic of lower class children (Cohen, 1955, p. 115; McCandless, 1961, p. 422), or if it arises, at least in part, independent of the children's behavior and from the generally unfavorable impression teachers may have toward those from a lower social class, *per se*.

Since psychologists, i.e., Rorschach examiners, appear to denigrate the adjustment of patients independently of the patients' responses to personality tests, it is reasonable to suspect that a similar bias, with similar consequences, exists among teachers who, like psychologists, probably possess the same tenacious middle-class attitudes (Cohen, 1955, p. 115; Hurlock, 1964, pp. 626-627; Schrupp and Gjerde, 1963, pp. 503-509).

In his analysis, McCandless (1961, p. 466) concluded that the gap in values between the middle-class teachers and lower-class children is enormous. He adds that we tend to condemn, reject, and exclude those whose values differ from ours and this "failure" characterizes relations between lower-class children and middle-class teachers with the consequence that the education of at least one fourth of the nation is retarded.

In a similar vein, Hollingshead (1949, pp. 57-192) argues that discipline is meted out inequitably to members of different social classes. For the same offense a child from the lower class receives more punishment than does a child from a more prominent family.

This importance given teacher bias in the evaluation of pupils is not held by everyone. Johnson and Medinnus (1965, pp. 374-376) believe that social class plays a relatively minor role in the school situation because class differences in goals, values, and child-rearing have been sharply reduced. Arguing from a different perspective, Hoemhn (1954), on the basis of his research, concluded that any favoratism teachers show toward students of high class status is simply incidental to the tendency of teachers to favor pupils of high achievement over pupils of low achievement.

The intrusion of bias is thought to operate for racial as well as class differences. Bloom, et al., (1965, p. 31), for example, concluded that the evidence is considerable that teachers respond differentially to white and Negro children as well as to children from different social classes. For example, Henderson (1966) criticises teachers for assuming that Negro children who come from poverty-stricken homes are also of low intelligence. He claims that these teachers attempt to "make-up" for these cultural differences by giving Negro students unearned rewards. He pleads, however, that it is easy to fall victim to the urge to engage in over-compensatory actions because of the emphasis currently being placed upon understanding and assisting culturally different students.

On the other hand, Gottlieb (1964) reports a negative bias. He found that on an adjective check-list, Negro teachers most often described Negro students as fun-loving, happy, cooperative, energetic, and ambitious whereas white teachers viewed them as talkative, lazy, funloving, high-strung and rebellious.

Obviously, careful controls are necessary to clearly understand the impact of the teacher's ethnic status upon his evaluations of pupils. In Gottlieb's study, for example, the problem of self-selection makes his finding somewhat equivocal in interpretation. There could, of course, exist a rating bias on the part of the white teachers. But, perhaps, the more adjusted students ended up in the Negro teachers' classes. Perhaps the white teachers made the Negro students unhappy--but this does not mean the teachers' ratings were in error. As if to buttress this point, Boyton, McAlister, and Hamer (1956), suggest that when subjects are asked to stereotype whites and Negroes, they identify whites with middle-class and Negroes with low class. Thus, once social class of the rated groups was controlled, the authors found virtually no stereotypes linked purely to race.

Hypotheses

Based primarily on the widely held belief that there does exist a denigrating middle-class attitude, it is hypothesized that when teachers are called upon to evaluate the personal and social adjustment of pupils, they will tend to evaluate more negatively those children identified as being of a low socioeconomic class than those identified as being of a middle socioeconomic class.

It is also suggested that Negro children, independent of their class status, occupy the same vulnerable position in our society as do lower-class children. It is hypothesized, therefore, that when teachers are called upon to evaluate the personal and social adjustment of pupils, they will tend to evaluate more negatively those children identified as Negro than those identified as white.

Cohen (1955,p.116) suggested that teachers hold very favorable attitudes toward low-class children who display middle-class behavior. Conceivably, then, a lower-class Negro child who is "orderly" and "achievement oriented" might be rated quite favorably by teachers. Specifically, it is hypothesized that for children who behave orderly, teachers will rate low-class Negro children more positively than middle-class white children.

Another assumption made is that teachers associate orderly behavior with a middle-class upbringing and disruptive behavior with a low-class environment. Disruptive behavior, it is suggested, will be considered by teachers as symptomatic of neurosis when displayed by white middle-class pupils and not untypical when displayed by Negro low-class children. Therefore, on those items related to neurosis, teachers will rate disruptive white middle-class pupils as being more neurotic than disruptive Negro low-class pupils.

Always of importance in the attempt to understand the evaluations of pupils are the personalities of the raters themselves. Of particular interest in the school situation are those teachers with a high need for achievement. As described by Murray (1938) those with a high need for achievement desire to accomplish difficult things; to master, manipulate, or organize physical objects, human beings, or ideas and to do this as rapidly as possible; it is the need to overcome obstacles and attain a high standard; to excell one's self; to rival and surpass others; to increase self regard by the successful excercise of talent.

It is suggested that those with a high need for achievement will admire this behavior in children more than those with a lower need. Since the orderly child described in this study is quite successful in school, it is hypothesized that those teachers with a high need for achievement will evaluate the orderly child more positively than those with a low need for achievement.

It is also suggested that the need for nurturance will influence the ratings of pupils. Specifically, those with a high need have the desire to help those who need support. The feelings involved are pity, compassion and tenderness. It is hypothesized, therefore, that those with a high need for nurturance will like the disruptive pupil more than those with a low need for nurturance.

Procedure

Experimental Design: An Overview

Factorially combined into sixteen different vignettes of a nine year old pupil were two levels each of race (white and Negro), sex (male and female), social class (middle and low), and classroom behavior (orderly and undisciplined). Eight white female teachers read each vignette. On the basis of the information provided, the teachers answered 80 items and scales, most of which were concerned with the social and emotional adjustment of the pupil. In addition to their ratings, measures of the teachers' background and personality were obtained.[2]

Subjects

One hundred and twenty-eight white female teachers were recruited from various graduate education courses at Brooklyn College, Queens College, Long Island University, and New York University. They were tested in groups ranging in size from six to thirty-five during the regular class period.

The teachers' average age was 27.1 years.[3] Forty-two had been teaching full-time less than one year, 55 from 1-3 years, 21 from 4-10 years, and nine more than ten years. This rather small length of full-time service is attributable probably to the fact that the sample of teachers ~~were~~ WAS taken from graduate courses in education.

Most teachers (N = 105) received their degrees in the New York Metropolitan area. At the time of the study, the mean number of graduate credits completed was 14.6.

Eighty-four teachers taught in grammar school, 12 in junior highs, 11 in senior highs, and 5 in kindergarten. For 24 teachers, the ethnic composition of their class was all white. For 26 teachers, there were no or virtually no white pupils. Sixty teachers taught mixed classes.

Materials

Vignettes. The object of this phase of the experiment was to present information to the teachers such that while the social class and race of the pupil they were to evaluate were varied, behavior was controlled. To achieve this condition, vignettes of a nine year old pupil were constructed.

The vignettes were developed with the following aims:

1. The child's behavior was to be described as objectively as possible. That is, even in class, all that a teacher observes are behaviors and verbalizations. For example, "When the teacher called out to him to pick up the basket, he did so", describes an event. It is up to the teachers to attribute "responsibility" to the child. "Day-dreaming" must be inferred. All that a teacher observes is the pupil "repeatedly staring out the window or doodling" and "to get his attention, his teacher calls upon him twice".

2. The sampling of behaviors described were to be as diverse as practicable. Consequently, information is given on leadership, attendance, etc. To this end, polled for suggestions were experienced teachers, textbooks, etc.

3. The disruptive child was to be perceived as behaving negatively and the orderly child as behaving positively. The vignettes underwent a number of revisions before this could be achieved.

4. The behaviors and information presented were to be as parallel as possible between the orderly and disruptive and the male and female child. For example, the disruptive child was described as "When lining up for trips, for lunch, or recess, Billy usually leaves his own place and tries to move to the front of the line". The orderly child was described as "When lining up for trips, for lunch, or recess, Billy usually remains in his own place in line". This information was identical for the Billys' female counterparts.

To present "originality" behavior, the following is given for disruptive Billy: "During the Hobby Day he brought in a small bag of plastic soldiers". For disruptive Ann, we say: "During Hobby Day she brought in some small plastic charms". For orderly Billy: "During Hobby Day he brought a chemistry set to class. Although not described in his manual, he demonstrated how the mixing of several chemical could form certain compounds." For orderly Ann: "During Hobby Day she brought in a nurse's kit to class. Although not described in her manual, she demonstrated how to make a tourniquet".

Sixteen different vignettes were developed, generated by the factorial combination of four pupil characteristics: race, sex, social class, and school behavior.

Race. In half the vignettes, the pupilwas simply described as Negro; for the other half the child was described as white. The label preceded a description of his social class background and the behavioral protocol.

Class status. For each condition of race, half of the children were described as coming from a middle socio-economic background and half were described as coming from a low socio-economic background. Used as indicators of social class were age, education, and occupation of parents, the number of siblings, and sleeping arrangements. This information preceded the behavioral protocol.

Sex. Within each division, half of the vignettes used a male pupil, half used a female pupil. Separate behavior protocols, appropriate to sex, were developed. This independent variable was included to determine if there were effects that held across sex or if they were interactive.

Behavior. Within each sub-division, the behavior was orderly and positive for half of the children and disruptive and negative for the other half. Extensive pre-testing demonstrating this effect was achieved.

The sixteen vignettes that were constructed included:

A. White, Male, Middle-Class, Orderly

B. White, Male, Middle-Class, Disruptive

C. White, Male, Low-Class, Orderly

D. White, Male, Low-Class, Disruptive

E. White, Female, Middle-Class, Orderly

F. White, Female, Middle-Class, Disruptive

G. White, Female, Low-Class, Orderly

H. White, Female, Low-Class, Disruptive

I. Negro, Male, Middle-Class, Orderly

J. Negro, Male, Middle-Class, Disruptive

K. Negro, Male, Low-Class, Orderly

L. Negro, Male, Low-Class, Disruptive

M. Negro, Female, Middle-Class, Orderly

N. Negro, Female, Middle-Class, Disruptive

O. Negro, Female, Low-Class, Orderly

P. Negro, Female, Low-Class, Disruptive

To what degree is a three page vignette at all meaningful? For the purpose of studying presonality impressions, the psychological literature is replete with illustrations demonstrating the usefulness of this and other similar approaches (see, e.g., Asch, 1946; Haire and Grunes, 1950; Kelley, 1950; Veness and Brierley, 1963). This issue, however, will be discussed further later.

Rating Scales. Teachers evaluated the pupil on 80 scales, most of the bi-polar variety. The first fifteen consisted of nine-step scales and were answered directly on the questionnaire. The remaining 65 were recorded on IBM cards.

Most items were concerned with the dimensions of personal and social adjustment. :Five of the items were adopted directly from the Elementary School Cumulative Record Card (New York City, Board of Education) and include:

1. How well does he get along with other children?
2. How well does he obey rules and regulations?
3. How well does he carry out his responsibilities?
4. Is he satisfied with a reasonable amount of attention from the teacher?
5. How much self-control does he have?

Personal Data Form. Information was obtained from the teacher concerning her educational background, teaching experiences, and evaluations of the rating scales.

Personality. As a measure of the teachers' personality, they were given the Stein Self-Description Scale (196[illegible]) to complete.[4] The Scale consists of twenty paragraphs each of which describes one of Henry Murray's (1938) manifest needs, including abasement, achievement, affiliation, aggression, autonomy, blamavoidance, counteraction, defendance, deference, dominance, exhibition, harmavoidance, infavoidance, nurturance, order, play, rejection, sentience, sex, and succorance. The descriptive paragraph for nurturance, which follows, is illustrative of the others used:

"I am a sympathetic person. I enjoy helping helpless people. I am inclined to support, protect, and confort others. I avoid hurting others".

In responding to the questionnaire the subject is asked to rank the paragraphs from the one which is most descriptive of herself (rank of 1) to the one which is least descriptive (rank of 20) In so doing, the test draws on the individual's capacity to observe her own behavior in a wide variety of situations and her ability to abstract several generalizations about this behavior.

Some validity for this device is gained from a study on prostitutes (Berger and Rotter, 1966). It was found that the ratings prostitutes gave the paragraphs were in accord with a number of expectations generated from clinical observations.

While 20 dimensions are tapped in the Self-Description Scale, it is clear that in combination with the eighty scales, the 1600 possible analyses would be too extensive to present in this report. For this reason, only two were selected as being particularly relevant in this experiment: the needs for achievement and nurturance.

Since the assignment of personality types to the various manipulated conditions is not under the control of the E, the problem arises that the distribution of the personality types would be confounded with the experimental conditions. At the risk of attenuating any effects of personality, the eight teachers assigned to each of the 16 cells were divided in half: the four with the strongest need for achievement and the four with the lowest. This was separately repeated for the teachers' rankings on need for nurturance. While overlap did occur, such that some *S*s assigned to the low need for achievement actually had higher rankings than some assigned to the high need condition, the arrangement permitted orthogonal comparisons and statistically meaningful tests of the relevant hypotheses.

Procedure

The teachers were tested during the class period in the graduate courses they were taking. They could not be considered "volunteers". The survey was described as being concerned with the development of rating scales that teachers use on the Cumulative Record Card. All vignettes and instructions were enclosed in folders. Consequently, *E* never knew which vignette the teacher answered.

The teachers were told that they would remain anonymous and that their questions would be answered at the end of the collection of the data. Following the reading of the vignettes, the teachers filled out the 80 items relating to the evaluation of the pupil. They then answered the Self-Description Scale. As their last task, they filled out the Personal Data sheet.

After all information had been obtained, the purpose of the experiment was explained to the teachers and all questions answered. It might be noted that judging by their facial expressions, many teachers did not value the study highly while answering the questionnaires. When they were apprised of the true nature of the study, however, their interest was stimulated and no teacher raised objections. In fact, some teachers who initially refused to write in the ethnic composition of their classes, did so when the purpose of the study was given. As a further measure of their interest, a large number requested reprints of the final report.

Statistical Analysis

The experiment involved a completely balanced 2^4 factorial design with eight observations per cell. All replications represented different Ss and all Ss were randomly assigned. A standard analysis of variance was performed on all 80 scales with the between Ss-within cells component as the estimate of error with 112 d.f.

For making comparisons between specific cells, the following formula was used:

$$t = \frac{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{MSw}{n_1} + \frac{MSw}{n_2}}}$$

where

$\overline{X}_1$ = mean of group one

$\overline{X}_2$ = mean of group two

MSw = the estimate of error

n_1 = the number of observations for $\overline{X}_1$

n_2 = the number of observations for $\overline{X}_2$

Using the procedure adapted from Davis (1954), the MSw obtained from the aforementioned analyses of variance was used as our estimate of error for testing various personality effects. The greater the significance of the personality effect, the more conservative would be the test of significance. This occurs because the technique does not remove the variation due to personality from the error term. Thus, large personality effects would inflate the error term. Practical considerations necessitated this statistcal procedure.

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Results

Validation

It is clear that the teachers were not randomly answering the scales. This is indicated by the enormous F-ratios obtained for the school behavior variable (Table 1). For most variables that could be aligned along a positive-negative continuum, F-ratios of over 100 (with 1,112 d.f.) were obtained. Random responses by the teachers or ignoring the vignettes would have produced for fewer significant or much weaker F-ratios.

No easy test of the racial manipulation was possible. In a concurrent study using a similar procedure with an industrial setting and using graduate business students as judges, virtually every *S* was able to recall the race correctly without checking the vignette.

Immediately following the experiment, the teachers were asked to guess the "true" purpose of the experiment. Not one suggested that *E* was interested in their reactions to the race and social class of the pupil. Most teachers seemed genuinely surprised when correctly informed.

On the scales, teachers rated the low-class pupils as being more low-class ($\overline{X}=3.17$) than middle-class students. ($\overline{X}=7.00$; 1,112 d.f.; $p < .001$). This difference held when the social class ratings were analysed separately for each sex, each race, and each school behavior. Clearly, then, the social class manipulation can be considered effective in inducing the correct perceptions of the pupils' origins.

The sex of the child was clearly understood. Females were rated much more feminine ($\overline{X} = 1.87$) than males ($\overline{X} = 6.59$; 1,112 d.f.; $p < .001$). This difference held when the femininity ratings were analyzed separately for each race, each social class, and each school behavior.

Social Class

Hypothesis 1. Teachers will tend to evaluate more negatively those children identified as being of a low socio-economic class than those identified as being of a middle socio-economic class.

Of the eighty items which the teachers used to rate the pupils not all could be considered as lying along a positive-negative continuum. For example, Item 24: humble-proud cannot be easily assigned as to which polarity is more positive. Neither can the dimension "desires to be average"-- "desires to be different" (Item 15) be easily analyzed. For this reason the following 62 items were selected as being fairly representative of a dimension with positive-negative polarities: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80.[5]

When low and middle class pupils were compared on these items, only one statistically significant effect occurred (Table 1). As seen in Table 2, Item 29, middle-class pupils were labeled as being slightly more cooperative than low-class pupils. Obviously, this one significant difference could easily have occurred by chance.

A slightly different analysis was undertaken. On the assumption that the error terms might be too large to detect a real difference in ratings between low and middle class pupils, a simple count was made of the 62 items to determine if the means fell in the predicted direction.[6] Statistical significance was not considered. Again, virtually no differences between the two social classes were obtained. As shown in Table 2, about half the ratings favored the low-class child, about half the middle-class child.

An even tighter analysis was undertaken. While the 62 items cited above do contain positive-negative dimensions, they are not synonymous. Some focused on ability (e.g. Item 19: creative-unimaginative), some on mental health (e.g. Item 28: tense-relaxed), and others social behavior (e.g. Item 17: shows leadership-shown no leadership). For this reason, attention focused on those few items considered to reflect a personal feeling tone experienced by the teacher (e.g. Item 21: selfish-generous), and hence, "truly" evaluative. Those items selected include 9, 21, 25, 29, 32, 37, 41, 46, 53, 60, 61, 66, 70, 76, and 77. Again, no meaningful trends were ascertained when only the direction--not the statistical significance--of the means were considered.

We next centered on those items emphasizing the social and personal adjustment of the pupil. An example of personal adjustment would be Item 28 (tense-relaxed) and of social adjustment, Item 20 (popular-unpopular). The items selected as representative of social adjustment were 1, 4, 13, 17, 20, 29, 30, 43, 49, 55, 58, 62, 66, 71, 77, and 79. Those selected as representative of personal adjustment included 5, 6, 23, 28, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 44, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 67, 69, and 78.

As with the previous analysis, no trends occurred when the direction of the means in Table 2 were examined. For social adjustment, the low-class pupils were evaluated more positively as frequently as middle-class pupils. A similar lack of any effect held for those personal adjustment items.

A number of items are thought to relate to ability, e.g., creative-unimaginative (Item 19). These include items 19, 27, 35, and 76. In three of the four items the low-class child was rated superior to the middle-class, again, disregarding the statistical significance (Table 2). The fourth item was a tie. Given these few items, the bias seems to favor slightly the low-class child.

As a final category, some items pertained to how well he operates within a classroom situation (e.g. Item 2: How well does he obey rules and regulations?). The items selected here include 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 16, 29, 42, 47, 48, 52, 68, 72, and 80. Again, as shown by the direction of the means in Table 2, low and middle-class pupils were rated superior with equal frequency.

The data is clear. In terms of an analysis for each item, an overall analysis of the direction of the means, and an analysis

(Results discussion continues on page 57.)

Table 1

Levels of Significance of Ratings for All First and Higher Order Interactions for Race, Sex, Social Class, and School Behavior

	Rac X Sex	Rac X Cls	Rac X Beh	Sex X Cls	Sex X Beh	Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls	Rac X Sex X Beh	Rac X Cls X Beh	Sex X Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls X Beh
1. Gets along with[a] children: very poorly-very good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Obeys rules and regulations: very good-very poor	-	-	.05	-	.05	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Carries out responsibilities: very good-very poor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Very dissatisfied-very satisfied: with a reasonable amount of teacher attention	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	-

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[a] For all items, the first characterization written in these tables appeared to left on the rating scale; the second characterization appeared to the right. The value associated with the extreme left was "1". For the first fifteen items, the value associated with the extreme right was "9"; for the items 16-80, the value associated with the extreme right was "8".

Table 1 (continued)

	Rac X Sex	Rac X Cls	Rac X Beh	Sex X Cls	Sex X Beh	Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls	Rac X Sex X Beh	Rac X Cls X Beh	Sex X Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls X Beh
5. Self control: excellent-very poor	.05	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Need to see the school psychologist: definately-not at all	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-
7. Class participation: quite satisfactory-quite unsatisfactory	-	.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Personal and social behavior next term will: deteriorate-show strong improvement	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.05	.001	-
9. Would like to have child like this in own class: definately willing-definately opposed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1 (continued)

	Rac X Sex	Rac X Cls	Rac X Beh	Sex X Cls	Sex X Beh	Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls	Rac X Sex X Beh	Rac X Cls X Beh	Sex X Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls X Beh
10. Discipline: very poor-very good	-	.05	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. Need for achievement: very strong-no need	-	-	-	- -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Fear of failure: very low-very high	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.05
13. Considerate of others: extremely thoughtless - highly considerate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Has greatly: over-achieved-under-achieved	-	-	-	.05	.01	-	-	-	-	-	-
15. Desire to be like others: highly desirous-desires to be different	-	-	-	-	.01	-	.001	.05	-	-	.01

Table 1 (continued)

	Rac X Sex	Rac X Cls	Rac X Beh	Sex X Cls	Sex X Beh	Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls	Rac X Sex X Beh	Rac X Cls X Beh	Sex X Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls X Beh
16. bored-interested	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17. shows leadership-shows no leadership	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18. hard to know-easy to know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19. creative-unimaginative	.05	-	-	-	.01	-	-	-	-	-	-
20. popular-unpopular	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-
21. selfish-generous	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22. physically sick-physically healthy	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	-
23. realistic-unrealistic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24. humble-proud	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25. an interesting pupil -a colorless pupil	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1 (continued)

	Rac X Sex	Rac X Cls	Rac X Beh	Sex X Cls	Sex X Beh	Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls	Rac X Sex X Beh	Rac X Cls X Beh	Sex X Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls X Beh
26. devious-honest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27. scholastically clever -scholastically dull	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.05
28. tense-relaxed	-	.05	-	.05	-	-	.05	-	-	-	.05
29. cooperative-uncooperative	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
30. socially acceptable -socially unacceptable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
31. moody-even-tempered	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
32. far from me-close to me	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33. masculine-feminine	-	-	-	-	.001	-	-	-	-	-	-
34. self-controlled-unrestrained	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
35. careful-lax	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1 (continued)

	Rac X Sex	Rac X Cls	Rac X Beh	Sex X Cls	Sex X Beh	Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls	Rac X Sex X Beh	Rac X Cls X Beh	Sex X Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls X Beh
36. maladjusted-adjusted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
37. mature - immature	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
38. authoritarian-democratic	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	.05	-
39. rational-irrational	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
40. low class-middle class	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
41. modest-arrogant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-
42. serious-flippant	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	.05
43. tactful-tactless	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
44. neurotic-normal	-	-	.01	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-
45. capable of improvement-incapable of improvement	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1 (continued)

	Rac X Sex	Rac X Cls	Rac X Beh	Sex X Cls	Sex X Beh	Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls	Rac X Sex X Beh	Rac X Cls X Beh	Sex X Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls X Beh
46. admirable-contemptible	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
47. needs to be prodded-self-motivated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
48. noisy-quiet	-	-	-	-	.01	-	-	-	-	-	-
49. hostile-friendly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
50. fastidious-slovenly	-	-	-	-	.01	.01	-	-	-	-	-
51. predictable-puzzling	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
52. active-passive	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	-	-
53. bad-good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
54. secure-insecure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
55. gregarious-keeps to himself	-	-	-	-	.01	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1 (continued)

	Rac X Sex	Rac X Cls	Rac X Beh	Sex X Cls	Sex X Beh	Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls	Rac X Sex X Beh	Rac X Cls X Beh	Sex X Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls X Beh
56. calm-excitable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
57. overly sensitive and touchy- not overly sensitive and touchy	-	-	-	-	-	-	.01	-	.05	-	-
58. accepted by peers- rejected by peers	-	-	.05	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-
59. impulsive-logical	-	.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
60. adaptable-rigid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
61. hateful-lovable	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	-
62. thoughtless-considerate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
63. beyond hope- not beyond hope	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-	.05	-
64. clean-dirty	-	-	-	-	.001	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1 (continued)

	Rac X Sex	Rac X Cls	Rac X Beh	Sex X Cls	Sex X Beh	Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls	Rac X Sex X Beh	Rac X Cls X Beh	Sex X Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls X Beh
65. sad-happy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
66. easy to get along-with- difficult to get along with	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
67. psychologically healthy-psychologically ill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-
68. Obedient-disobedient	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.05
69. frustrated-satisfied	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	-
70. attractive-unattractive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
71. participates well with others-participates poorly with others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
72. responsible-irresponsible	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 1 (continued)

	Rac X Sex	Rac X Cls	Rac X Beh	Sex X Cls	Sex X Beh	Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls	Rac X Sex X Beh	Rac X Cls X Beh	Sex X Cls X Beh	Rac X Sex X Cls X Beh
7373. conforming-non-conforming	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
74. innocuous-harmful	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 75. pessimistic-optimistic	-	-	-	-	-	.01	-	-	-	-	-
76. ambitious-lazy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
77. insolent-courteous-		-	.05	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	-
7878. well-integrated poorly integrated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
79. intolerant of others--tolerant of others		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
80. dawdling-speedy	-	-	-	-	-	.05	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2

Mean Evaluation of Pupils by their Race, Sex, Social Class, and School Behavior

	Race		Sex		Social Class		School Behavior	
Item	White	Negro	Male	Female	Middle	Low	Ord'ly	Disrupt.
1.	6.26	6.20	6.07	5.99	5.90	6.17	7.96	4.10***
2.	4.56	4.50	4.55	4.49	4.63	4.42	2.34	6.71***
3.	4.81	4.31*	4.51	4.60	4.68	4.43	1.90	7.21***
4.	4.61	5.20**	4.99	4.80	4.90	4.90	6.93	2.87***
5.	5.05	4.76	4.82	4.98	4.75	5.06	2.87	6.93***
6.	5.01	5.39	5.37	5.02	5.31	5.09	7.18	3.21***
7.	4.39	4.26	4.21	4.43	4.15	4.50	1.79	6.85***
8.	5.03	4.83	5.10	4.85	5.06	4.90	5.81	4.15***
9.	3.03	2.97	2.93	3.06	3.08	2.92	1.37	4.62***
10.	5.31	5.45	5.31	5.45	5.43	5.32	7.55	3.19***
11.	3.20	3.20	3.05	3.35	3.06	3.34	2.88	3.51
12.	5.48	5.71	5.68	5.54	5.85	5.37	5.29	5.93
13.	6.17	6.11	6.08	6.18	6.05	6.11	8.01	4.26***
14.	5.48	5.77	5.37	5.82**	5.40	5.80*	4.32	6.87***
15.	4.16	4.34	4.53	3.96	4.17	4.32	4.34	4.15
16.	5.01	5.50	5.42	5.09	5.27	5.23	7.09	3.41***
17.	3.87	3.70	3.57	4.99	3.49	4.07	2.03	5.54***

See Table 1 for trait names of items and the direction of the responses.

* - $p < .05$; ** - $p < .01$; *** - $p < .001$

Table 2 (continued)

	Race		Sex		Social Class		School Behavior	
Item	White	Negro	Male	Female	Middle	Low	Ord'ly	Disrupt.
18.	4.13	4.43	4.52	4.04	4.38	4.18	5.37	3.20***
19.	3.74	3.94	4.10	3.57	3.84	3.84	3.86	4.73***
20.	4.10	4.03	3.87	4.26	4.15	4.00	2.10	6.03***
21.	5.34	5.54	5.48	5.41	5.53	5.35	6.88	4.01***
22.	6.58	6.46	6.63	6.40	6.41	6.62	7.68	5.35***
23.	3.95	4.10	3.84	4.21	3.93	4.12	2.34	5.71***
24.	5.49	5.55	5.59	5.46	5.35	5.70	5.14	5.91*
25.	2.68	3.06	2.54	3.20*	2.87	2.87	2.35	3.38***
26.	4.78	4.98	4.71	5.05	4.79	4.96	6.32	3.43***
27.	4.32	4.07	4.12	4.28	4.30	4.09	2.69	5.70***
28.	3.79	3.77	3.60	3.96	3.87	3.70	5.26	2.31***
29.	3.69	3.68	3.73	3.65	3.49	3.89*	1.45	5.93***
30.	3.74	3.54	3.67	3.62	3.68	3.60	1.56	5.74***
31.	4.50	4.43	4.56	4.35	4.48	4.43	6.40	2.53***
32.	4.21	4.12	4.19	4.14	4.23	4.10	5.32	3.01***
33.	4.42	4.05	1.88	6.59***	4.29	4.18	4.76	3.71***
34.	4.14	3.96	4.07	4.03	4.06	4.07	2.13	5.96***
35.	4.35	4.50	4.50	4.35	4.46	4.38	2.01	6.84***
36.	4.71	4.98	4.84	4.85	4.98	4.71	6.79	2.90***
37.	4.45	4.34	4.46	4.32	4.57	4.21	2.34	6.44***
38.	4.66	4.56	4.71	4.51	4.62	4.60	6.46	2.76***
39.	3.53	3.81	3.70	3.64	3.63	3.70	1.85	5.48***

Table 2 (continued)

	Race		Sex		Social Class		School Behavior	
Item	White	Negro	Male	Female	Middle	Low	Ord'ly	Disrupt.
40.	5.09	5.18	5.24	5.02	6.99	3.27***	6.10	4.16***
41.	4.34	4.38	4.46	4.26	4.34	4.38	3.06	5.66***
42.	3.28	3.34	3.41	3.21	3.52	3.09	2.01	4.60***
43.	4.04	4.02	3.96	4.10	3.95	4.12	2.38	5.68***
44.	4.82	5.45*	5.24	5.03	5.38	4.89	6.75	3.54***
45.	2.08	2.21	2.18	2.10	2.17	2.13	2.16	2.14
46.	3.66	3.40	3.43	3.63	3.52	2.54	2.11	4.96***
47.	4.33	4.59	4.54	4.37	4.51	4.40	6.57	2.34***
48.	4.15	4.73	4.10	4.77**	4.59	4.29	5.59	3.29***
49.	4.96	5.12	5.10	4.98	5.13	4.94	6.89	3.19***
50.	4.84	4.45	4.79	4.49	4.70	4.59	2.79	6.49***
51.	3.84	3.96	3.67	4.14	3.85	3.95	3.10	4.70***
52.	2.96	3.29	2.59	3.67***	3.04	3.21	2.28	3.98***
53.	5.57	5.67	5.57	5.67	5.67	5.57	7.07	4.17***
54.	5.13	5.10	5.13	5.10	5.04	5.20	2.91	7.32***
55.	3.98	3.67	3.43	4.21**	3.89	3.76	2.79	4.85***
56.	4.78	4.76	4.90	4.64	4.80	4.73	3.43	6.10***
57.	4.33	4.40	4.49	4.24	4.43	4.31	6.03	2.70***
58.	3.37	3.48	3.18	3.66*	3.52	3.32	1.65	5.19***
59.	4.62	4.70	4.57	4.74	4.63	4.68	6.71	2.60***
60.	3.93	4.01	3.82	4.12	4.04	3.90	2.26	5.68***
61.	5.27	5.30	5.32	5.27	5.37	5.21	6.40	4.18***

Table 2 (continued)

	Race		Sex		Social Class		School Behavior	
Item	White	Negro	Male	Female	Middle	Low	Ord'ly	Disrupt.
62.	5.73	5.89	5.71	5.90	5.93	5.68	7.32	4.29***
63.	7.65	7.45	7.57	7.52	7.51	7.59	7.71	7.38*
64.	3.85	3.69	4.04	3.51*	3.73	3.82	1.91	5.63***
65.	4.35	4.54	4.40	4.49	4.54	4.35	6.46	2.43***
66.	4.03	4.06	4.03	4.06	4.01	4.07	1.90	6.18***
67.	4.10	3.87	3.84	4.14	3.95	4.02	2.09	5.88***
68.	3.73	3.56	3.82	3.46	3.66	3.62	1.79	5.49***
69.	4.12	4.09	3.98	4.21	4.04	4.15	6.43	1.76***
70.	3.80	3.48	3.60	3.68	3.57	3.71	2.20	5.09***
71.	3.83	4.01	3.90	3.94	3.94	3.90	1.63	6.21***
72.	4.10	3.77	3.94	3.94	4.06	3.82	1.68	6.20***
73.	4.10	4.03	4.21	3.92	4.07	4.06	2.35	5.78***
74.	3.24	3.08	3.40	2.93*	3.26	3.07	2.21	4.12***
75.	4.74	4.90	4.90	4.74	4.82	4.82	6.62	3.02***
76.	3.66	3.51	3.71	3.46	3.68	3.49	1.84	5.34*
77.	5.76	5.62	5.70	5.68	5.68	5.70	7.23	4.15***
78.	4.23	3.65**	3.91	3.96	3.79	4.08	1.90	5.98***
79.	5.32	5.29	5.34	5.27	5.31	5.30	6.98	3.63***
80.	4.21	4.35	4.41	4.15	4.17	4.40	5.96	2.60***

Table 3

A Comparison between Race and Class for Orderly Pupils

	Overall		Overall		White	Negro
Item	White	Negro	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class
1.	7.84	8.10	7.90	8.03	7.87	8.25
2.	2.19	2.50	2.43	2.25	2.25	2.37
3.	2.18	1.62	1.87	1.93	2.06	1.56
4.	6.78	7.10	7.15	6.71	7.13	7.00
5.	3.00	2.75	2.62	3.12	2.50	2.75
6.	7.03	7.34	7.50	6.87	7.31	7.00
7.	1.90	1.69	1.46	2.12*	1.19	1.62
8.	5.97	5.66	5.84	5.78	5.75	5.37
9.	1.38	1.38	1.40	1.34	1.31	1.25
10.	7.41	7.72	7.68	7.43	7.75	7.81
11.	2.81	2.97	2.68	3.09	2.56	3.12
12.	5.22	5.38	5.43	5.15	5.43	5.69
13.	7.87	8.16	8.12	7.90	8.06	8.12
14.	4.06	4.60**	4.15	4.50	3.87	4.75
15.	4.19	4.50	4.12	4.56	3.87	4.75
16.	6.84	7.34	7.18	7.00	7.00	7.31
17.	2.02	2.02	1.62	2.43	1.50	2.31
18.	5.24	5.49	5.46	5.28	5.06	5.13
19.	2.90	2.99	3.12	2.78	3.06	2.81

See Table 1 for list of trait names and the direction of their responses.

* - $p < .05$; ** - $p < .01$; *** - $p < .001$

Table 3 (continued)

	Overall		Overall		White	Negro
	White	Negro	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class
20.	2.34	1.87	2.18	2.03	2.37	1.75
21.	6.84	6.90	7.00	6.75	6.94	6.75
22.	7.62	7.74	7.87	7.50	7.87	7.62
23.	2.2.4	2.43	2.12	2.56	2.13	2.75
24.	5.31	4.96	5.03	5.25	5.38	5.25
25.	2.37	2.34	2.56	2.15	2.63	2.19
26.	6.31	6.34	6.34	6.31	6.00	6.00
27.	2.62	2.78	2.96	2.43	2.87	2.50
28.	5.53	4.99	5.50	5.03	5.25	4.25
29.	1.46	1.43	1.37	1.53	1.50	1.64
30.	1.68	1.40	1.50	1.59	1.62	1.44
31.	6.37	6.40	6.46	6.31	6.56	6.44
32.	5.62	5.03	5.15	5.50	5.50	5.25
33.	4.87	4.65	4.75	4.78	5.00	4.81
34.	2.12	2.15	2.09	2.18	2.12	2.25
35.	1.90	2.12	1.90	2.12	1.75	2.19
36.	6.81	6.77	6.81	6.78	6.75	6.69
37.	2.21	2.46	2.43	2.25	2.19	2.25
38.	6.46	6.46	6.56	6.37	6.50	6.31
39.	1.84	1.87	1.71	2.00	18.1	2.12
40.	5.84	6.37*	7.81	4.40	7.81	4.94***
41.	3.00	3.12	3.00	3.12	3.13	3.38

Table 3 (continued)

	Overall		Overall		White	Negro
	White	Negro	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class
42.	2.06	1.96	1.96	2.06	2.00	2.00
43.	2,40	2.37	2.37	2.40	2.31	2.31
44.	6.84	6.62	6.96	6.50	6.80	6.06
45.	1.99	2.31	2.06	2.25	1.50	2.00
46.	2.21	2.00	2.18	2.03	2.25	1.88
47.	6.30	6.84	6.75	6.40	6.62	6.81
48.	5.24	5.93*	5.65	5.53	5.25	5.81
49.	6.84	6.93	6.81	6.96	6.56	6.81
50.	3.15	2.43*	2.56	3.03	2.81	2.56
51.	2.90	3.31	3.12	3.09	3.25	3.63
52.	2.21	2.34	2.31	2.25	2.31	2.38
53.	6.99	7.15	7.09	7.06	6.87	7.00
54.	2.84	2.99	2.71	3.12	3.00	3.56
55.	2.96	2.62	2.71	2.87	2.88	2.69
56.	3.37	2.49	3.43	3.43	3.44	3.56
57.	5.96	6.12	6.09	6.00	6.31	6.37
58.	1.81	1.49	1.59	1.71	1.38	1.44
59.	6.59	6.84	6.71	6.71	6.44	6.69
60.	2.15	2.37	2.28	2.25	2.19	2.38
61.	6.37	6.43	6.25	6.56	6.25	6.62
62.	7.12	7.52	7.28	7.37	7.00	7.50
63.	7.68	7.74	7.62	7.81	7.69	7.94

Table 3 (continued)

	Overall		Overall		White	Negro
	White	Negro	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class
64.	2.09	1.74	1.87	1.96	2.13	1.88
65.	6.40	6.52	6.42	6.50	6.19	6.37
66.	1.87	1.93	1.96	1.84	6.19	6.37
67.	2.09	2.09	2.03	2.15	2.19	2.31
68.	1.81	1.77	1.90	1.68	2.06	1.81
69.	6.43	6.43	6.15	6.71*	6.00	6.56
70.	2.31	2.09	2.28	2.12	2.44	2.06
71.	1.71	1.56	1.71	1.56	1.87	1.56
72.	1.84	1.52	1.75	1.62	1.83	1.44
73.	2.28	2.43	2.43	2.37	2.44	2.62
74.	2.27	2.15	2.43	2.00	2.62	2.06
75.	6.59	6.65	6.28	6.96	6.19	6.94
76.	2.20	1.65	2.03	1.65	2.31	1.56
77.	7.12	7.34	7.12	7.34	6.81	7.25
78.	2.06	1.74	1.81	1.96	2.19	2.00
79.	6.96	7.00	6.78	7.18	6.94	7.38
80.	5.99	5.93	5.56	6.37**	5.69	6.44

Table 4

A Comparison between Race and Class for Disruptive Pupils

	Overall		Overall		White	Negro
Item	**White**	**Negro**	**Middle Class**	**Low Class**	**Middle Class**	**Low Class**
1.	3.91	4.32	3.90	4.31	3.62	4.48*
2.	6.93	6.50	6.84	6.59	7.18	6.50
3.	7.44	7.00	7.50	6.93	7.63	6.72*
4.	2.44	3.32**	2.65	3.09	2.44	3.75**
5.	7.10	6.78	6.87	7.00	7.00	6.81
6.	3.00	3.44	3.12	3.31	2.88	3.50
7.	6.88	6.84	6.84	6.87	6.69	7.00
8.	4.09	4.22	4.28	4.03	4.56	4.44
9.	4.69	4.56	4.75	4.50	4.94	4.56
10.	3.22	3.18	3.18	3.21	3.37	3.37
11.	3.60	3.44	3.43	3.59	3.38	3.37
12.	5.75	6.12	6.28	5.59	6.00	5.62
13.	4.22	4.06	4.34	4.18	4.75	4.19
14.	6.91	6.84	6.65	7.09	6.69	7.06
15.	4.12	4.18	4.21	4.09	4.44	4.37
16.	3.18	3.65	3.37	3.46	3.31	3.87
17.	5.71	5.37	5.37	5.71	5.56	5.51
18.	3.02	3.37	3.31	3.09	2.87	3.00
19.	4.59	4.87	4.56	4.90	4.38	5.00

See Table 1 for list of trait names and the direction of their responses.

* - $p < .05$; ** - $p < .01$; *** - $p < .001$

Table 4 (continued)

A Comparison between Race and Class for Disruptive Pupils

	Overall		Overall		White	Negro
Item	White	Negro	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class
20.	5.87	6.18	6.09	5.96	6.31	6.50
21.	3.84	4.18	4.06	3.96	4.25	4.50
22.	5.53	5.18	4.96	5.75*	5.13	5.56
23.	5.65	5.77	5.75	5.68	5.69	5.75
24.	5.68	6.15	5.68	6.15	5.75	6.69
25.	2.99	3.77*	3.18	3.59	3.00	4.19*
26.	3.24	3.62	3.25	3.62	3.25	4.00
27.	6.02	5.37*	5.65	5.75	5.56	5.00
28.	2.06	2.56	2.25	2.37	1.99	2.56
29.	5.93	5.93	5.62	6.25	5.44	6.06
30.	5.81	5.69	5.87	5.62	6.06	5.69
31.	2.62	2.43	2.50	2.56	2.50	2.38
32.	2.81	3.21	3.31	3.71	3.13	2.94
33.	3.96	3.46	3.84	3.59	4.19	3.44
34.	6.15	5.78	6.00	5.93	6.13	5.69
35.	6.81	6.87	7.03	6.65	6.94	6.63
36.	2.62	3.18	3.15	2.65	2.88	2.94
37.	6.68	6.21	6.71	6.18	7.00	6.00**
38.	2.87	2.65	2.68	2.84	2.69	2.62
39.	5.21	5.74	5.56	5.40	5.31	5.69

Table 4 (continued)

A Comparison between Race and Class for Disruptive Pupils

	Overall		Overall		White	Negro
Item	White	Negro	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class
40.	4.34	3.99	6.18	2.15***	6.44	2.06***
41.	5.68	5.65	5.68	5.65	5.69	5.63
42.	4.49	4.71	5.09	4.12**	5.06	4.31
43.	5.68	5.68	5.53	5.84	5.25	5.56
44.	4.49	4.27	3.81	3.28	3.31	4.25
45.	2.15	2.12	2.28	2.00	2.31	2.00
46.	5.12	4.81	4.87	5.06	5.00	4.87
47.	2.34	2.34	2.28	2.40	2.31	2.44
48.	3.06	3.53	3.53	3.06	3.19	3.19
49.	3.09	3.31	3.46	2.93	3.56	3.25
50.	6.52	6.46	6.84	6.15*	7.00	6.25
51.	4.77	4.62	4.59	4.81	4.56	4.63
52.	3.71	4.24	3.78	4.18	3.50	4.44
53.	4.15	4.18	4.25	4.09	4.25	4.12
54.	7.43	7.21	7.37	7.28	7.44	7.12
55.	4.99	4.71	5.06	4.65	5.31	4.62
56.	6.18	6.03	6.18	6.03	6.25	5.94
57.	2.71	2.68	2.78	2.62	2.56	2.38
58.	4.93	5.46	5.46	4.93	5.37	5.37
59.	2.65	2.56	2.56	2.65	2.31	2.31

Table 4 (continued)

A Comparison between Race and Class for Disruptive Pupils

	Overall		Overall		White	Negro
Item	White	Negro	Middle Class	Low Class	Middle Class	Low Class
60.	5.71	5.65	5.81	5.56	5.75	5.44
61.	4.18	4.18	4.50	3.87*	4.38	3.75
62.	4.34	4.24	4.59	4.00	4.81	4.12
63.	7.62	7.15*	7.40	7.37	7.69	7.19
64.	5.62	5.65	5.59	5.68	6.87	6.00
65.	2.31	2.56	2.65	2.21	2.50	2.31
66.	6.18	6.18	6.06	6.31	6.00	6.25
67.	6.12	5.65	5.87	5.90	6.00	5.56
68.	5.65	5.34	5.43	5.56	5.50	5.31
69.	1.77	1.74	1.93	1.59	2.06	1.69
70.	5.31	4.87	4.87	5.31	5.06	5.06
71.	5.96	6.46	6.18	6.25	5.25	6.31
72.	6.37	6.03	6.37	6.03	6.50	5.81
73.	5.93	5.62	5.81	5.75	6.25	5.88
74.	4.21	4.02	4.09	4.15	4.19	4.06
75.	2.90	3.15	3.37	2.68	3.25	2.81
76.	5.30	5.37	5.34	5.34	5.37	5.44
77.	4.40	3.90	4.25	4.06	4.56	3.87
78.	6.40	5.56**	5.75	6.21	6.25	5.88
79.	3.68	3.59	3.84	3.43	3.94	3.44
80.	2.44	2.78	2.78	2.43	2.56	2.56

Table 5

Teachers' Needs for Achievement and Nurturance as Factors in Pupil Evaluation

	Pupil: Low Class Family-Orderly Behavior		Pupil: Disorderly Behavior	
	Teacher:		Teacher:	
Item	High Need Achievement	Low Need Achievement	High Need [redacted] Nurturance	Low Need [redacted] Nurturance
1	7.81[a]	8.25[a]	4.19[b]	4.03[b]
2.	2.50	2.00	6.66	6.78
3.	1.93	1.93	7.34	7.09
4.	6.12	7.31*	3.00	2.68
5.	3.37	2.87	6.87	7.00
6.	6.43	7.31	3.12	3.31
7.	2.25	2.00	6.97	6.74
8.	5.56	6.00	3.91	4.40
9.	1.31	1.37	4.53	4.72
10.	7.18	7.68	3.18	3.21
11.	2.75	3.43	3.93	3.09
12.	5.62	4.68	6.19	5.68
13.	7.31	8.50	4.22	4.31
14.	5.00	4.00**	6.97	6.78
15.	4.75	4.37	4.05	4.25

[a] Sixteen observations per mean

[b] Thirty-two observations per mean

* - $p < .05$; ** - $p < .01$; *** - $p < .001$

Table 5 (continued)

	Pupil: Low Class Family-Orderly Behavior		Pupil: Disorderly Behavior	
	Teacher:		Teacher:	
Item	High Need Achievement	Low Need Achievement	High Need [redacted] Nurturance	Low Need [redacted] Nurturance
16.	6.56	7.43	3.28	3.55
17.	2.81	2.06	5.59	5.50
18.	4.50	6.06	3.22	3.18
19.	3.06	2.50	5.19	4.28*
20.	2.31	1.75	5.97	6.06
21.	6.43	7.06	4.22	3.81
22.	7.56	7.43	5.16	5.56
23.	2.75	2.37	5.75	5.68
24.	5.50	5.14	5.96	5.87
25.	2.31	2.00	3.37	3.40
26.	5.56	7.06*	3.37	3.49
27.	2.62	2.25	5.62	5.77
28.	4.43	5.62*	2.35	2.28
29.	1.50	1.56	5.99	5.87
30.	1.68	1.50	5.87	5.62
31.	6.06	6.56	2.46	2.59
32.	5.12	5.87	3.09	3.06
33.	5.12	4.43	3.71	3.71

Table 5 (continued)

	Pupil: Low Class Family-Orderly Behavior		Pupil: Disorderly Behavior	
	Teacher:		Teacher:	
Item	High Need Achievement	Low Need Achievement	High Need [redacted] Nurturance	Low Need [redacted] Nurturance
34.	2.25	2.12	6.18	5.74
35.	1.93	2.31	6.90	6.77
36.	6.25	7.31*	2.74	3.06
37.	2.50	2.00	6.34	6.56
38.	5.93	6.81	2.74	2.78
39.	2.31	1.68	5.81	5.15
40.	3.68	5.12	4.34	3.99
41.	3.56	2.68	5.05	5.81 *
42.	1.87	2.25	4.59	4.62
43.	2.50	2.29	5.59	5.78
44.	6.00	7.00*	3.47	3.62
45.	2.37	2.12	2.00	2.28
46.	1.93	2.12	5.09	4.84
47.	6.25	6.56	2.18	2.49
48.	5.62	5.43	3.37	3.21
49.	6.62	7.31	3.06	3.34
50.	2.81	3.25	6.93	6.06**
51.	3.37	2.81	4.87	4.53

Table 5 (continued)

	Pupil: Low Class Family-Orderly Behavior		Pupil: Disorderly Behavior	
	Teacher:		Teacher:	
Item	High Need Achievement	Low Need Achievement	High Need [redacted] Nurturance	Low Need [redacted] Nurturance
52.	2.43	2.06	4.15	3.81
53.	6.81	7.31	4.18	4.15
54.	4.10	2.10 **	7.34	7.31
55.	3.43	2.31	4.68	5.02
56.	3.75	3.12	6.12	6.09
57.	5.50	6.50	2.71	2.68
58.	1.81	1.62	5.18	5.21
59.	6.50	6.93	2.65	2.56
60.	2.56	1.93	5.87	5.49
61.	6.37	6.75	4.28	4.09
62.	7.18	7.56	4.59	3.99
63.	7.81	7.81	7.62	7.15
64.	2.06	1.87	5.62	5.65
65.	6.25	6.75	2.31	2.56
66.	2.00	1.68	6.34	6.02
67.	2.43	1.87	5.78	5.99
68.	1.75	1.62	5.46	5.53
69.	6.18	7.25**	1.78	1.74

Table 5 (continued)

	Pupil: Low Class Family-Orderly Behavior		Pupil: Disorderly Behavior	
	Teacher:		Teacher:	
Item	High Need Achievement	Low Need Achievement	High Need [redacted] Nurturance	Low Need [redacted] Nurturance
70.	2.25	2.00	5.27	4.90
71.	1.62	1.50	6.09	6.34
72.	1.75	1.50	6.43	5.96
73.	2.18	2.53	6.03	5.52
74.	2.12	1.87	4.21	4.03
75.	6.87	7.06	3.02	3.03
76.	1.56	1.75	5.40	5.27
77.	7.25	7.43	4.27	4.02
78.	2.37	1.56*	6.02	5.93
79.	6.93	7.43	3.71	3.55
80.	6.06	6.68	2.53	2.68

by category, there are virtually no preferences shown for pupils from either social class. This, of course, holds for overall comparisons. Later, findings of specific interactions will be presented.

Race

Hypothesis 2. Independent of the pupils' class status, teachers will tend to evaluate more negatively those children identified as Negro than those identified as white.

As with the analysis for class status, this analysis was concerned solely with the teachers' reactions to the ethnic status of the child, per se. As seen in Table 2, main effects due to race appeared for five items all of which were evaluative. Contrary to the hypothesis, however, the Negro child was rated more favorable than the white in all instances. That is, he carries out his responsibilities better (Item 3), he is more satisfied with a reasonable amount of attention from the teacher (Item 4), he is less bored (Item 16), and he is less neurotic (Item 44), and less noisy (Item 47).

As with class status, an analysis was undertaken where only the direction of the effects--not the significances--were examined. These were done for the 62 items previously considered as having a positive-negative dimension.

Of the 62 items examined in Table 2, nine were considered ties[5], 17 favored white pupils, and 36 favored Negro pupils.

Using a t-test of proportions, this was significant at the .05 level of significance, lending support to the notion that once other information is held constant, Negroes receive more positive ratings by teachers. Clearly, however, this contradicts the hypothesis that there occurs an anti-Negro bias.

As with class, the analyses of the direction of means were done by categories of items. First, the "truly" evaluative items in Table 2 were examined: 9, 21, 25, 29, 32, 37, 41, 46, 53, 60, 61, 66, 70, 76, and 77. No trends were ascertained as favoring either white or Negro pupils.

Next, those items concerned with the social and personal adjustment of the child were examined. Considered as measures of social adjustment were Items 1, 4, 13, 17, 20, 29, 30, 43, 49, 55, 58, 62, 66, 71, 77, and 79. Again, as gleaned from Table 2, no trends were ascertained with a number of items rated as ties for Negro and white pupils.

For measures of personal adjustment, Items 5, 6, 23, 28, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 44, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 67, 69, and 78 were examined. While ten means in Table 2 did favor the Negro and only four favored the white, five items were rated ties. Not much significance can be attached to these differences.

The four ability items: 19, 27, 35, and 76 were also ar analyzed. For two items, the means favored the white child, for two the means favored the Negro child.

Finally, the items relating to classroom behavior, 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 16, 29, 42, 47, 48, 52, 68, 72, and 80, were analyzed. Here, major differences occurred. As shown in Table 2, of the fourteen items, eleven means favored the Negro. On one item, they were considered tied. On two, the white pupils were favored. The whites were considered more active (Item 52), though, conversely, the Negro was rated more speedy (Item 80). Also, the white child was rated less flippant; this difference, it should be noted, was only .06. It does seem clear, however, that the teachers do seem to favor Negroes over whites in school-room behavior and outlook--once behavior and social class are controlled

In general, then, the data, contrary to the hypothesis, support the notion that Negroes are evaluated more positively than whites. The difference, however, seems strongest for classroom behavior and less for items such as adjustment. Again, this is an evaluation for Negroes overall and specific interactions will be discussed later.

Race by Class

While no simple interaction hypotheses were made, the evaluations for the race by class interaction were examined. As seen in Table 1, some interactions did occur, and these include Items 7, 10, 28, and 59.

For Item 7: How satisfactory is the extent of his participation in class?, the interaction reflected a tendency to rate the white child extremely compared to the Negro. For middle-class children, the white child was rated more favorably than the Negro child; for low-class children, however, the white child was rated less favorably than the Negro child.

For Item 10: How would you rate his discipline?, the interaction took on a different note. For white children, middle-class pupils were rated ~~worse~~ BETTER than low-class pupils; for Negro pupils, however, the low-class pupils were rated more positively than the middle-class pupils.

In Item 28: tensed-relaxed, the low-class white and the middle-class Negro pupils were rated more relaxed than the middle-class white and the lower-class Negro pupils. Finally, for Item 59: impulsive-logical, middle-class Negro and lower-class whites were rated more logical than the lower-class Negro and middle-class white pupils. For these items, it would seem some element of composure was involved.

Race, Class, and Orderly Behavior

Hypothesis 3. For pupils who behave orderly, teachers will tend to evaluate low-class Negro children more positively than middle-class white children.

In terms of the 62 items previously defined as possessing an evaluative dimension none were significant when the means for middle-class white and low-class Negro pupils were compared (Table 3). For this reason, we proceeded, as with the race and class hypotheses, to evaluate the direction of the means rather than trying to determine the significance of each. In this instance virtually no differences occurred when the direction of the means in Table 3 were analyzed: white middle-class pupils were rated better than Negro low-class pupils as frequently as they were rated worse.

We next considered the "truly" evaluative items by themselves: 9, 21, 25, 29, 32, 37, 41, 46, 53, 60, 61, 66, 70, 76, and 77. Again, as seen in Table 3, no trends were ascertained in that the two groups were rated more positive equally as often.

The next analyses focused upon the adjustment items: social and personal. For the social items, we examined 1, 4, 13, 17, 20, 29, 30, 43, 49, 55, 58, 62, 66, 71, 77, and 79. In this instance, Negro low-class pupils were rated more positive eleven times, more negative four times, and there occurred one tie (Table 3). Because there were too few items, this trend should be considered only suggestive of the possibility that on social adjustment given a well-behaved child, low-class Negro pupils would be rated more positively than middle-class white pupils.

For ratings of personal adjustment the directions of the means for the following items were looked at in Table 3 and include: 5, 6, 23, 28, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 44, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 67, 69, and 78. Oddly, the findings for social adjustment are reversed for personal adjustment. That is, on fifteen of the 19 items thought to relate to the teachers' estimates of the orderly child's personal adjustment, the white-middle class child was rated as being more adjusted than the Negro low-class child. Only on four items was the Negro low-class orderly pupil rated as being more adjusted. These include 57 (sensitive and touchy), 59 (logical), 69 (frustrated), and 78 (well-integrated).

This difference between orderly white middle-class children and Negro low-class children on the ratings they receive in measures of social and personal adjustment is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 7.294$; 1 d.f.; $p. < .01$). The meaning this holds for bias in ratings will be discussed later.

Next, the four ability items (19, 27, 35, and 76) were examined in Table 3. While the white middle-class child was rated more careful, the Negro low-class child was considered more creative, more scholastically clever, and more ambitious. Again, the means are not statistically significant and there are too few items to speak of a trend.

Finally, our two groups of orderly children were compared for their classroom behavior. The items involved include 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 16, 29, 42, 47, 48, 52, 68, 72, and 80. No systematic differences in the direction of the means were ascertained.

In summary, it appears that for orderly pupils, there exists a slight tendency to evaluate differentially their adjustment, white middle-class pupils are considered to be less disturbed than Negro low-class pupils. Socially, however, the Negro low-class pupils seem to be rated more successful than their orderly white middle-class counterparts.

Race, Class, and Orderly Behavior

Our previous analysis contrasted white middle-class pupils with Negro low-class pupils. This comparison was undertaken because class and race tend to be closely associated (Bayton, et al 1956). Nevertheless, the comparisons are confounded, i.e., are teachers reacting to class or race--or some combination of the two? For this reason, it seemed of value to make an analysis for orderly children analyzing separately race and class factors.

Some main effects that did not occur in the overall analysis for race and class (Table 1) appear--particularly for social class--when orderly pupils alone are considered. For example, orderly middle-class pupils are rated as having a more satisfactory class participation than his low-class counterpart (Item 7, Table 3). On the other hand, orderly white children are considered more slovenly than orderly Negro children, (Item 50, Table 3). Finally, orderly low-class pupils are evaluated as being more satisfied (Item 69, Table 3) and speedy (Item 80, Table 3) than orderly middle-class pupils. The occurrence of these significances, however, are too infrequent to be considered of much psychological significance.

Of the 62 items containing a positive-negative dimension, the means of the orderly pupils were examined for race to determine if either Negroes or whites received a preponderance of positive ratings. From the data presented in Table 3, no trends could be ascertained as favoring either orderly whites or orderly Negroes.

As with previous analyses, the evaluative items were examined by categories. Again, only the direction--not the significance--was considered. As shown in Table 3, for the "truly" evaluative items, neither race received a clear majority of more favorable ratings. On the social adjustment dimension, orderly Negroes received more positive ratings than did orderly whites in eleven instances; they received less positive ratings once (Item 66: easy-hard to get along with) and there occurred three ties. In other words, the tendency seems to be to rate orderly Negroes--low and middle class combined--as being better adjusted in their social relations than orderly white pupils.

The same analysis was performed on those items relating to personal adjustment. In this instance, no clear indication of a trend was ascertained when the direction of the means in Table 3 was analyzed. In other words, while there is some evidence that orderly low-class Negro pupils are rated as being less adjusted psychologically than orderly middle-class white pupils, the effect does not seem to hold across all trends of social status.

Finally, the classroom behavior items were also examined. Ten items gave superior ratings to the orderly Negroes, three to the orderly whites, and there occurred one virtual tie. Not much significance can be attached to this difference because it is not great enough to overcome the issue of too few items.

A similar analysis by item category was undertaken comparing orderly middle-class pupils to orderly low-class pupils. For the means of the 62 evaluative items in Table 3, no clear cut trends were ascertained. For some reason, however, the middle-class pupils received a clear majority of better ratings for the first half of the items in Table 3, and the low-class pupils balanced this out by receiving a clear majority of more positive ratings in the second half.

On the "truly" evaluative items, the orderly low-class pupils recieved more (ten) positive ratings than did the orderly middle-class pupils (three; there were two ties). Again, while a trend does obtain, the difference is too small in light of the few cases involved.

On the social adjustment items, the data in Table 3 showed that low-class and middle-class orderly pupils received the more positive ratings equally as often. On personal adjustment, however, twelve comparisons favored the middle-class orderly pupil and only three favored the low-class orderly pupil (there occurred four virtual ties). Consequently, the finding previously mentioned [illegible] that middle-class white children are rated as being more psychologically adjusted than low-class Negro children seemsto be more a function of their class differences than race differences.

Finally, classroom behavior was examined. No clear trends were uncovered wherein the majority of means favored either middle-class or lower-class orderly pupils.

Race, Class, Disruptive Behavior, and Neurosis

Hypothesis 4. Teachers will tend to rate disruptive middle-class white children as being more neurotic than disruptive low-class Negro children.

As outlined in earlier analysis, certain items (see Table 1) seemed more related to the teachers' ratings of neurosis or personal adjustment than did others. These include Items 5, 6, 23, 28, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 44, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 67, 69, and 78. For only one item--37--was there a significant difference and this indicated a rating of less maturity for the middle-class white than the low-class Negro disruptive child (Table 4). One additional item, somewhat ambiguous in meaning but which could be construed as indicative of neurosis was Item 4: Is he satisfied with a reasonable amount of attention from the teacher? As Table 4 shows, the misbehaving white middle-class pupil was rated as being less satisfied than the misbehaving Negro low-class pupil.

Ignoring the significance levels, the directionsof the means were examined. This time, a difference of .20 between the two means--clearly more rigorous than the criterion of .03 required previously--was needed before the average was considered as favoring one group or the other. Of the nineteen items, ten showed more personal maladjustment for the white middle-class pupils, two showed more maladjustment for the Negro low-class pupils, and seven showed no clear differences. (See Table 4). While this trend supports the conjecture that teachers interpret disruptive behavior differentially depending upon the class and ethnic status of the child, still, there are too few items to be too conclusive.

Even within this group of 19 items, some were more clearly related to ratings of psychological disturbance than were others. Those items include six (should see a school psychologist), 36 (maladjusted-adjusted), 44 (neurotic-normal), 54 (secure-insecure), 67 (psychologically healthy-ill) and 78 (well-poorly integrated). As Table 4 shows, in all instances, the white middle-class child was rated as being more disturbed and in only one instance (Item 36) was the difference in means slight.

Disruptive Behavior and Evaluation.

While no hypotheses were generated concerning the other evaluations of the disorderly white middle-class and Negro low-class groups currently under consideration, it seems obvious that some presentation would be of value.

Considering *all* 62 items of evaluation--not just those relating to a neuroticism--we find five statistically significant: 1, 3, 4, 25 and 37 (Table 4). Of these, two have already been discussed: 4 (Is he satisfied with a reasonable amount of attention from the teacher?), and 37 (mature-immature). Of the remaining three, the disruptive middle-class white child, as compared to the disruptive low-class Negro child, got along more poorly with other children (Item 1), carried out his responsibilities more poorly (Item 3), but, nevertheless, was found to be more interesting (Item 25). This last item satisfies the intuitive notion that it is the inconsistent or unexpected that we find more interesting. As seen in Table 3, the Negro low-class child who behaved orderly was rated more interesting than his white middle-class counterpart (though not significantly so).

In summary while there occurred relatively few statistical significances in support of the hypothesis that disruptive children identified as white middle-class would receive ratings of more neuroticism than their Negro low-class counterparts, some evidence is gained when we find that the preponderance of ratings fall in the *direction* of support of the hypothesis. It might, at this point, be repeated that error variance was relatively large. This raises a problem in this study of committing the Type II error. In the discussion section of this paper, this issue will be dealt with in some detail.

Disruptive Behavior and Overall Race and Social Class

As previously discussed, any analysis comparing white middle-class children to Negro low-class children necessarily confounds race with class. For this reason, the disruptive behaviors were analyzed separately for race and social class.

As seen in Table 4, four evaluative items discriminated between Negro and white disruptive pupils. The white child was thought to be more dissatisfied with attention from the teacher (Item 4), was thought be more colorful (Item 25), less clever scholastically (Item 27), and more poorly integrated (Item 78). Items 4 and 25 showed up as statistically significant in the comparison between disruptive middle-class white children and low-class Negro children. Because an effect was not obtained for social class on these two items, it might be conjectured that the teachers' ratings reflect more their reactions to race than to social class.

Only one item showed up significantly for overall effects comparing low-class to middle-class disruptive pupils. For some reason, the teachers found the disruptive middle-class child to be "more lovable" than the "disruptive" low-class child (Item 61, Table 4).

On the items concerned with personal adjustment, no clear preponderance of means favored either the disruptive Negro or white child (Table 4). Similarly, no clear preponderance of means favored either the disruptive middle-class or white child. Since the earlier analysis seemed to suggest that the middle-class white child was judged to be more neurotic than the low-class Negro child when both displayed the same disruptive symptoms, the lack of any trend due either to overall race or overall class would indicate that the teacher is reacting to the combination of these factors.

The directions of the means of the 62 items were also examined. They showed neither disruptive Negroes compared to disruptive whites nor disruptive middle-class compared to disruptive low-class receiving a clear preponderance of favorable ratings. (Table 4)

Following the procedure previously used. the "truly" evaluative items alone were considered. Of the 15 items, once again, neither group was considered an overwhelming favorite.

On social adjustment (personal adjustment was discussed previously), no difference occurred between the two overall groups of disruptive children. This lends some further support to the notion that teachers feel there is more psychological disturbance--perhaps anxiety--for the disruptive child who is white middle-class than for the disruptive child who is Negro low-class. That is, while their social behaviors are rated as being equally bad, the underlying explanation teachers use is probably different.

Two other categories of items were examined: those relating to ability and those to behavior in the classroom. No disruptive group obtained a clear majority of mean ratings which were more unfavorable.

Next, white and Negro disruptive pupils overall were compared on school behavior. As seen in Table 4 of the 14 items thought to relate to this dimension, eleven means were worse for the whites, one was worse for the Negro, and two items tied. The one item favoring whites (Item 10) differed by only .04. In other words, it appears that when children behave poorly in the school situation, the white is more likely to receive a more negative rating than the Negro.

Looking again at Table 4, a similar comparison was made for middle and low class pupils. This time neither class group received a clear majority of negative ratings.

Evaluations and Need for Achievement

Hypothesis 5. Those teachers with a high need for achievement will tend to evaluate more positively orderly pupils than teachers with a lower need for achievement.

For virtually every comparison, no evidence was obtained in support of the expectation. That is, in terms of either statistical significance or trend of the means, the hypothesis that high need for achievement teachers (high n. Ach.) would admire successful students more than teachers with a low need for achievement (low n. Ach.) cannot be considered tenable.

In examining the means, however, one trend was uncovered for one sub-group. High and low n-Achs were compared on their evaluations made of orderly children coming from a low-class family. Of the 62 items, seven showed up as statistically significant. As seen in Table 5, compared to high n-Ach teachers, low n-Ach teachers rated these children as being more satisfied with a reasonable amount of attention from the teacher (Item 4), more honest (Item 26), more relaxed (Item 28), more adjusted (Item 36), more normal (Item 44), more secure (Item 54), less frustrated (Item 69), and better integrated (Item 78). In other words, for this sub-population of pupils--those who come from bad origins but achieve well inschool--low n-Ach teachers evaluate them more positively than high n-Ach teachers. Of course, this is clearly contrary to the hypothesis.

Some explanation for this reversal is gained from Item 14: How much of an achiever is he? As seen in Table 5, the low n-Ach teacher rated this child as having over-achieved more than did the high n-Ach teacher. In other words, the low n-Ach teacher saw this child as being more successful. (For some peculiar reason, however, the low n-Ach rates the orderly low-class child as being less ambitious than does the hign n-Ach--though not significantly so ((Table 5, Item 76)).

Of the 62 evaluative items, 54 of the means showed that the ratings were more favorable when made by teachers with low n-Ach. It seems clear, then, that contrary to the hypothesis, teachers with a low n-Ach rate orderly low-class pupils more positively than do teachers with a high n-Ach.

Evaluation and Need for Nurturance

Hypothesis 6. Those teachers with a high need for nurturance will tend to evaluate more positively disruptive pupils than teachers with a low need for nurturance.

As Table 5 shows, only two items were significant--only one in support of the hypothesis. Teachers with a low need for nurturance (low n Nurt) evaluated the disorderly pupils as being less creative (Item 19) but more modest (Item 41) than did teachers with a higher need for nurturance (high n Nurt).

An analysis was made of the direction of the means of the 62 items (Table 5). No trends were uncovered favoring either personality type. When these items were analyzed further by "truly" evaluative, personal and social adjustment, ability, and school behavior, nothing systematic appeared.

En toto, the hypothesis does not gain support.

Sex and Evaluation

Of some interest in the study are the reactions teachers made to the sex of the pupil. The reader is reminded that, within the limitations posed by keeping the behavior appropriate to the sex of the pupil, virtually everything written about the behavior of the male and female child was kept constant. Consequently, any differences reported can be considered as being a function of the sex label applied.

As with the previous analyses, our initial focus is upon those 62 items containing a postive-negative polarity. As seen by the significances and means in Table 2, males showed better leadership than females, (Item 17), were more interesting, (Item 25), were more active (Item 52), were more gregarious (Item 55), and were more accepted by their peers (Item 58). In keeping with popular stereotypes, males were also noisier, (Item 48) and dirtier (Item 64).

In what direction do the means of the 62 evaluative items lie? As seen in Table 2, while some of the items rate males more positively than females, there is no clear majority. In other words, there does not seem to be a general set to rate males more positive than females. To the extent that sexual stereotypes are influencing the teachers' evaluations, they are probably specific to the scale or category of items involved.

Of the "truly" evaluative items, neither males nor females were favored in the ratings received (Table 2). This supports the above conjecture that there is no general set to rate one sex more positively than the other sex.

On items relating to personality adjustment, neither sex was given more positive ratings. In fact, a number of items showed virtual ties between males and females (Table 2). As with personal adjustment, there seemed to be no clear preponderance of means favoring either sex on social adjustment (Table 2). This holds for ability items and items related to behavior in the school situation. In other words, any consideration of sex differences has to be quite specific to the scale involved.

Sex by Behavior

As seen in Table 1, sex interacted with classroom behavior on thirteen items. If one includes the three-way interactions, an additional five items indicate a sex by behavior effect.

For this analysis, we trained upon only the 62 evaluative items and the two-way interactions. With one exception, the tendency among the statistically significant interactions was to rate the males more extremely than the females and/or make the difference between males and females greater for disruptive than for orderly behavior. On "How well does he obey rules and regulations?" (Item 2), males were rated better than females if they behaved orderly, but were rated worse if they behaved disruptively. Similarly, orderly males had better self-control than orderly females but worse self-control if they were disruptive (Item 5). Orderly males were more democratic than orderly females, but, conversely, disruptive males were more authoritarian than disruptive females (Item 38).

If they were orderly, males and females were rated as being virtually equal on creativity; if they were disruptive, however, the males were voted much less imaginative (Item 19). For orderly children, females were judged to be slightly more quiet than males. For disruptive children, however, males were rated to be far more noisier than females, (Item 48). Somewhat similarly, orderly males were evaluated as being slightly more active than orderly females; however, disruptive females were far more passive than disruptive males (Item 52).

Finally, on Item 64, disruptive children were judged to be much dirtier than orderly children (Table 2). However, disruptive females were rated dirtier than disruptive males and orderly females were rated much cleaner than orderly males.

In summary, it seems clear that even where behavior is controlled, sex biases influence teachers' ratings. Sometimes, the bias holds across different behaviors, sometimes it interacts with behaviors. Nevertheless, the data indicate that such a tendency is occurring among white female school teachers.

Non-evaluative Items

As previously mentioned, a number of items could not be classified simply as possessing positive-negative polarities. Obvious examples of these are Item 40 (low-class-middle-class) and Item 33 (masculine-feminine). The results from some of these items will be presented since they shed some interesting light on the teachers' evaluation tendencies.

Masculine-feminine (Item 33)

Very clearly, male pupils were rated more masculine than female pupils--regardless of what comparison was under consideration (Table 2). Nevertheless, as seen in Table 1, the interaction between school behavior and sex was highly significant. Specifically, orderly and disruptive male pupils were approximately equal in the ratings of masculinity. However, the orderly female pupil was rated quite strongly more feminine than the disruptive female pupil.

Low-class and Middle-class (Item 40)

Quite clearly, low-class pupils were rated more low-class than middle-class pupils. However, disorderly middle-class pupils were rated more low-class than low-class pupils who behaved middle-class (Table 2). In general, disruptive behavior led to ratings of low-class by the teachers. In other words, behavior seems a strong factor in one's tendency to attach class labels onto a child. Also of some interest is the comparison between orderly Negroes and orderly whites (Item 40, Table 3). For some reason, the teachers found the orderly Negro to be more middle-class than the orderly white.

Will behavior improve next term? (Item 8).

Highly significant was the interaction between sex, social class and school behavior (Table 1). The interaction is somewhat complex but the strongest effect occurred for disruptive pupils. If the child was disruptive male, his behavior stood a greater chance of deteriorating if he was middle-class than if he was low-class. Conversely, for disruptive females, the child stood a much greater chance of deteriorating if she was low-class than if she was middle-class. In general, the white-female-low-class-disruptive pupil had the dimmest outlook for improvement.

An item somewhat similar in scope to the previous was 45: capable-incapable of improvement. Only the sex by behavior interaction was significant (Table 1). For orderly pupils, females were more capable of improvement than males; for disruptive pupils, the converse: males were more capable of improvement than females. Overall, however, neither disruptive nor orderly pupils had a bigger capacity for improvement.

Achievement

Three items were concerned with achievement: 11, 12, and 14. Virtually nothing significant was gained for Item 11: "How great is his need for achievement?" and Item 12: "How would you rate his fear of failure?" (Tables 1 and 2). However, a number of effects were gained for Item 14: "How much of an achiever is he?" Obviously, the orderly pupil was much more of an achiever than the disruptive pupil (Table 2). In addition, males achieved more than females and middle-class pupils achieved more than low-class pupils. However, while disruptive males and females were rated as achieving equally little, orderly males were rated as achieving more than orderly females--the sex by behavior interaction being quite significant (Table 1).

One race effect was also obtained. As seen in Table 3 (Item 14), white orderly pupils had overachieved more than the Negro orderly pupils. No effect occurred for the disruptive group.

Physically sick-healthy (Item 22)

As Table 2 shows, the disruptive child was rated as being more sick physically than the orderly child. Of interest, however, was the finding that while low and middle-class orderly pupils are rated almost equally healthy, the disorderly middle-class child was rated as being more physically sick than the disorderly low-class child (Table 4). It appears that the teachers interpreted the large number of absences by the disruptive middle-class child as being more indicative of real physical illness than she did of the disruptive low-class child's absences.

Fastidious-slovenly (Item 50).

This is a difficult item to consider because both polarities can be considered equally disagreeable. Nevertheless, as seen in Table 1, some interactions did occur. First, it is clear that the teachers value fastidiousness over slovenliness, as evidenced by the very large difference between orderly and disruptive pupils, with the orderly pupils clearly at the fastidious end of the scale (Table 2). However, orderly females were rated more fastidiousness than orderly males while disruptive females were rated more slovenly than disruptive males. When it comes to cleanliness, it appears that females are rated more extremely than males. The finding is buttressed by the very strong and similar interaction occurrence for item 64: clean-dirty (Table 1).

Also significant was the interaction between behavior and social class (Table 1). As with females, the middle-class pupil, was rated more extremely than the low-class child, e.e., more fastidious if he was orderly and more slovenly if he was disruptive.

Predicatable-puzzling (Item 51)

Only one effect was found for this item. As seen in Table 2, the disruptive pupil was rated more puzzling than the orderly child. What the source of ambiguity is, however, is hard to say.

Gregarious-keeps to himself (Item 55)

Even though the point is conceded that a rating of gregarious is more positive than a rating of 'keeps to himself', it was not included with the other evaluative items because a totally gregarious person might not be held more positive than one who was not totally gregarious. Of particular interest is the sex by behavior interaction (Table 1). While, overall, males are rated more gregarious than females, and orderly pupils more gregarious than disruptive ones (Table 2), orderly males were slightly more gregarious than orderly females and disruptive males were much more gregarious than disruptive females. In other words, the tendency seems to be to rate the disruptive female as being practically a recluse. In general, it was the white - female - middle class - disruptive pupil who was rated most strongly as keeping to herself.

The desire to be average.

Two items pertain to this question of social conformity: 15 (How great is his desire to be like the others?) and 73 (conforming-nonconforming). The difference between these items is that the former focuses upon the pupil's motives and intentions while the latter judges behavior. Interestingly enough, disruptive and orderly pupils are rated almost identically on their desire to be like the others (Table 2). Nevertheless, the orderly pupil is considered to be far more conforming than the disruptive one (Table 2).

While no overall effect occurs for school behavior on the desire to be like the others, behavior does interact significantly with sex (Table 1). Specifically, for disruptive pupils, both males and females have about the same need to be like the others. For orderly pupils, however, the male has a strong desire to be different while the female has a strong desire to be like the others.

The extremes here are also of interest. Rated as having the strongest desire to be different was the Negro - male - low class - orderly pupil while rated as having the strongest desire to be like the others was the Negro - female - middle class - orderly pupil. Tied with the latter was the Negro - female - low class - disruptive pupil.

Innocuous-harmful (Item 74).

As shown in Table 2, not only were orderly pupils judged more innocuous than disruptive ones, females, expectantly, were also rated more innocuous than males. Because of the recent riots in a number of cities, it was anticipated that the teachers would rate as most harmful Negro - male - low class - disruptive pupils. Rated as more harmful than this group (though not necessarily significantly more harmful), however, were:

white - male - middle class - disruptive

white - female - middle class - disruptive

Negro - male - middle class - disruptive

white - male - low class - disruptive
white - female - low class - disruptive
Negro - female - low class - disruptive

The reader is left to draw his own interpretation.

Discussion

Race and Class Bias

For the most part, the hypotheses predicting that Negro and low-class pupils would receive poorer evaluations than white and middle-class pupils by white, middle-class, female teachers did not receive confirmation in this experiment. Either the differences were nil or they favored pupils identified as Negro and/or low-class.

This lack of support for hypotheses 1 and 2 cannot be easily dismissed as being a function of a turgid error term. When the directions of the means were analyzed for the 62 evaluative items (and their various sub-categories), no overall trend was discerned. The one exception occurred on those items relating to the teachers' impressions of the classroom behavior. In this instance, Negroes were rated superior to whites. This finding, of course, goes counter to the hypothesis of an anti-Negro bias.

The interaction between class and race did not provide much help. Only four of the 62 evaluative items were significant for this interaction and even here no systematic trends are obvious.

Before other specific findings are discussed, why were there no overall effects--favoring either group? It is now suggested that signs of bias or prejudice against out-groups are encountered only in the absence of relevant information about these groups. When an individual is asked to rate "Negroes", perforce he conjures up an image of a low-class illiterate individual. In the presence of questions and absence of details about his behavior, he will also conjure up these aspects. And if his image is low-class, the hypothetical behaviors will probably be negative---or, in our terms, disruptive. Later, this issue will be discussed in some further detail.

As seen in this experiment, children who behaved in a disruptive fashion were persistently judged poorly. Though not reported here, most F-ratios for the behavior variable: disruptive-orderly were over 100. In other words, the almost total lack of significance for race and sex and the very strong effect of school behavior seem to make it clear that teachers were reacting strongly--and possibly solely--to the behavior. Consequently, while Negro and low-class pupils were rated quite poorly if they were disruptive, so were white and middle-class pupils. Similarly, if white and middle-class pupils were rated positively when their behavior was orderly, so were Negro and low-class pupils.

Why then are Negro and low-class pupils rated so poorly in our school system? Some evidence that this occurs is gained from this study. In the sample of teachers used, we obtained information on the racial composition of their classes and requested comments about the children they teach. Clearly, teachers in all white classes expressed far fewer negative comments than teachers having Negro (and/or Puerto Rican) pupils. While a number of possible explanations for this co-relationship easily come to mind, it is believed that it reflects general disciplinary differences between the two groups of pupils. At any rate, herein is contained some evidence that in a real school situation, low status pupils (Negro and/or low-class) are rated more negative than middle status pupils (white and/or middle-class).

Returning to the question posed above, two alternatives are possible. First, perhaps it is true that low-class Negro pupils do behave more disruptively than middle-class white pupils. If so, there is no question of prejudice involved: the teachers are reacting to certain behaviors which happen to occur more frequently among one group of pupils than another.

The second alternative posits that among her 30 pupils, the teacher has too little information for everyone, and so has to rely on popular stereotypes with which a pupil is identified. Since the stereotypes would be disruptive or negative for low-class Negro pupils, their ratings would be poor.

Of the two the latter hypothesis seems less reasonable. If stereotypes did influence her judgments it would mean that a teacher knows less about her pupils at the end of six months or one year than she learned from a brief three-paged vignette. In this study, it will be recalled, virtually no differences appeared for race and class once many details about the behavior were provided.

Both explanations could, of course, be operative. The findings of the current experiment support the first, i.e., the teachers are reacting to behavior, per se. The second is easily testable using the procedure of controlled vignettes. In this instance, the amount of information about the pupils' behaviors would be systematically varied, i.e., some teachers would be told a great deal of the pupil, some a moderate amount and some very little. According to the explanation exposited in the second hypothesis, there should occur an increasing amount of negative bias against the Negro and/or low-class child with every decrease in the amount of information provided.

The latter hypothesis might explain why Haase (1958) was able to report that clinicians evaluate the Rorschach protocols identified as belonging to a low socio-economic patient as symptomatic of greater disturbance than the same protocol described as emanating from a middle socio-economic patient. In his study, relatively little other information was provided. Consequently, the clinician had to conjure up an image of the patient based, it is argued, upon stereotypes. With these stereotypes are associated behaviors. For the patient described as being of a low socio-economic status, the hypothetical associated behaviors were probably negative; for the middle socio-economic patient, the hypothetical associated behaviors were probably less negative. If now, the clinician is going to react to the hypothetical behavior as well as the Rorschach protocol, than it would be expected that the low socio-economic patient would be diagnosed more maladjusted than his middle-status counterpart.

This explanation can be tested easily by varying the amount of additional information about the patient's behavior. It is predicted that the less the additional information, the greater will be the difference in diagnosis between low and middle socio-economic patients.

Race, Class, and Behavior

On the assumption that race and social class effects might be cancelled out when ratings of orderly and disruptive children were combined, the effects of these factors were examined separately for each type of behavior. As the results indicated, the hypothesis was not supported--either in terms of tests of statistical significance or in terms of an overall comparison of the direction of the means--that there would be a tendency to evaluate, in general, more positively low-class Negro pupils who behave and perform well than middle-class and white students who also perform and behave well.

One trend was uncovered. The tendency was to rate Negro low-class pupils more _successful_ or _adjusted socially_ than white middle-class pupils but, at the same time, evaluate them _less adjusted psychologically_. This finding, of course, causes one to wonder about the tendency to lump into one category social and personal adjustment. It might even appear that one is the converse of the other.

The _tendency_ to rate the orderly low-class Negro pupil _more_ disturbed psychologically than the orderly middle-class white pupil is balanced by the _tendency_ to rate the disruptive low-class Negro pupil _less_ disturbed psychologically than the disruptive middle-class white pupil. The latter trend, of course, is that which was predicted by hypothesis 4.

If one accepts the validity of these trends, then the conclusion to draw is clear. Behavior inappropriate to the social group with which one is identified tends to be perceived symptomatic of neurosis. One thing should remain clear: the orderly low-class Negro is more adjusted than the disorderly low-class Negro. The differences occur when we look at the situation and who is in it. Since, popularly, orderly behavior is less appropriate to low-class Negroes than middle-class whites, the former would be rated more maladjusted.

This obviously leads to the next question: Are orderly low-class Negro pupils more disturbed than orderly middle-class white pupils, and are disruptive middle-class white pupils more disturbed than disruptive low-class Negro pupils? The question, of course, must be answered by the appropriate professional persons. Their conclusions would certainly aid in bringing into focus the meaning of teachers' judgments.

In summary, this lack of significance for our race and class variables does not stand alone. Rokeach (1960) posits much the same thing when he argues that ratings of prejudice toward a group reflect the degree of congruence between the S's own beliefs and those associated with the group. As a result, on measures of prejudice, Rokeach reports differences in evaluations of Negroes and whites virtually vanished once information about beliefs were controlled. Bayton, et al., (1956) also report that once social class is controlled, stereotypes concerning Negroes and whites become virtually identical. While one could take issue with the findings (e.g. Triandos, 1961), the data seems to be mounting that ratings of class and racial prejudice, to a large degree, reflect associative attributes and not simply a rejection of outgroups.

Teacher Personality and Evaluations

At the very least, is is clear that the teachers' needs for nurturance and achievement do not intrude heavily into their evaluations. This is the safest statement to make because of the manner in which the needs for achievement and nurturance were treated in this study. That is, because each cell of eight teachers were divided into high and low needs too much overlap might have occurred for the total sample, hence attenuating their effect.

The solution seems obvious. Covariance is not the best answer because while it might reduce the error variance, we could not determine if the personality variable interacted with other variables. Instead, the number of Ss in each cell must be made greater. Once high enough, the cut-off points within each cell of high and low needs should be similar among all cells and, consequently, any overlap with its resultant diminuation of the personality effect, would be minimized.

While only two personality dimensions were investigated, eighteen other dimensions could also have been introduced. Since twenty separate personality analyses would be needed for each of the 80 items, the analyses involved in such a venture would be foreboding. Nevertheless, it might be a necessary undertaking if one wished to determine which, if any, personality variables are involved in the judgment process.

The value of investigating all twenty dimensions extends beyond its role in shedding further light upon the rating process.

As mentioned earlier, the error terms seemed fairly large, as judged by the great many F-ratios of less than one. Personality, introduced either as an additional factor or a co-variable, could reduce the size of these error terms. In perusing the means, it is felt that the Type II statistical error had been committed more than once.

The lack of any overall effect of needs for nurturance and achievement might involve a theoretical issue and not just a statistical one. In a previous study involving need for social approval, Rotter (1964) reported that this variable became potent only in those situations where no other information was provided to the S concerning his decision to conform or deviate. In this experiment, a great deal of information was provided concerning what ratings the teacher should make. That is, the pupils' behaviors were described in detail and they were not ambiguous.

Consequently, were less information provided the teachers, it is hypothesized that perhaps their personality structure would play a more prominent role. The specific hypotheses, of course, would depend on the researcher's concept of the various dimensions.

Sex and Ratings

Either as a main effect or in interaction with other factors, particularly behavior, teachers reacted strongly to the sex of the child. Most of the significances were in accord with the standard social stereotypes for sex: boys showed more leadership, were more active, were noisier, and dirtier than girls.

In part, these differences can be said to reflect the teachers' preconceptions of what boys and girls are supposed to be like. Unfortunately, we cannot rule out differences in the information provided in the vignettes. Frequently, we could make the behavior identical, as when we described how the children stood in line. But sometimes, we made them different as when we reported that on Hobby Day the disruptive male brought to class "a bag of small plastic soldiers" and the disruptive female brought in "some small plastic charms". The aim, of course, was to make the act appropriate to the sex. To the degree that the differences were not truly parallel, the differences in sex ratings might reflect behavioral differences and not stereotypes. Nevertheless, the data should serve as a warning that with all the emphasis upon class and racial bias, there possibly exists a sex bias. Further research would seem desirable along these lines.

Conformity. Of some interest were the teachers' perceptions of the pupils' desires to be different or like the others. As reported earlier, there were no differences between disruptive boys and girls. Clearly, however, orderly girls were seen with a strong desire to be like the others and orderly boys were seen with a strong desire to be different. The disorderly groups fell between these extremes.

If one remembers that a strong attempt was made to keep the behaviors of boys and girls as closely parallel as possible, the attribute of conforming tendencies is indeed hard to understand.

It brings, however, one other well known finding into focus. Females seem to conform more than males consistently (see, e.g., Rotter, 1964; Tuddenham, 1957). Perhaps one of the environmental factors leading to the behavioral differences are the social expectations one has of "orderly" males and females. In terms of our findings, the expectation would be for the boys to want to be different and for the girls to want to be like the others. To the degree that this influences the teachers' treatment of boys and girls, it makes their behavioral differences more understandable.

Physically sick and healthy

Of some importance was the finding that among disruptive pupils, who had been described as being absent 18 times, the middle-class child was rated as sicker than the low-class child. It would appear that the reasons for such absences were interpreted as being more legitimate for the middle-class child, i.e., the child's middle-class parents would not keep him home if he were well.

This difference does not reflect any overall tendency to rate low-class children as stronger. As previously mentioned, among orderly pupils, no difference developed in ratings of health between the low and middle-class pupils.

Criticisms and Recommendations for Further Research

The major problem posed by a study like this is the concern with how comparable is our experiment to a rating process in the class. Many important differences exist. In the following, these differences will be made explicit and suggestions for improvement will be given. General comments will be included.

A. Information. Obviously, a three page vignette cannot even begin to duplicate the variety and richness of the pupil-teacher interaction experienced by the teacher in class. Moods, facial expressions, changes, verbal reports,--all these were largely missing in these reports. Nevertheless, we were not trying to duplicate the classroom experience. The point is that had we obtained evidence in this experiment of a class or racial bias, it would have heightened our concern for what might be occurring in class.

There is also the question of referring back to the vignettes. Our teachers were permitted to do this as they pleased. In a class, however, the teacher cannot have the child repeat behaviors while she is sitting alone in front of the child's cumulative record form. In other words, selective recall had less of a chance to operate in this experiment than it would in an actual rating situation. Obviously, if selective recall is involved in a real classroom situation, it might lead to race and class differences in evaluations. This too will be discussed in more detail later.

B. Anonymity. In this experiment, the teachers' identities were not made known. In school ratings, of course, they are known. The pressures, obviously, differ. Nevertheless, in today's climate of avoiding disparaging the low-class Negro publicly, if a bias existed, it is more likely that it would have been brought out under conditions of anonymity. The fact that no such effect was obtained supports the belief that a negative bias against low-class Negroes is not extant in the classroom. On the other hand, it would be of much practical interest to determine what differences in ratings occur between public and private conditions.

C. Purity of descriptions. In this study there was no question of what the pupils were like: orderly children were constantly good and disruptive children were constantly bad. Yet, no real child exists who is like this. Probably, no teacher ever encountered such a perfectly good or bad child. Children are mixtures--in various proportions--of both.

This might be critical in understanding why no effects for race or class were obtained in this study. It might be argued, for example, that we selectively remember or perceive when making evaluations. Since no alternatives to all good or all bad behavior were provided, the teacher could remember only good things from the orderly child and bad things from the disruptive. If _some_ bad things were included for the orderly children, the teacher might have been quicker to pick these up if the child was low-class Negro than if he was middle-class white. Again, with _no_ negative comments, such selectivity was not possible. In one future study, such a mixture of behaviors will be presented. That is, varying sex, race, and class, half of the behavioral items will be positive, half will be negative.

D. _Scale-limitations_. For many of the items, the pupils received a large number of ratings of 1 or 8--the limits of the scale. This ceiling automatically raises the question of what rating would have occurred had the teacher been given the opportunity of making more extreme evaluations? In other words, perhaps real differences were blocked from showing up by this artificial barrier.

Two possibilities suggest themselves for getting around this limitation. First, add more points to the scale and/or make the polarities more extreme. For example, instead of "mature-immature" (Item 37), a better polarity might be "extremely mature--extremely immature".

The second would be to develope a vignette with behavior that is moderate rather than extreme. Moderate behaviors would probably lead to few extreme ratings. Possibly, racial and class effects might appear under these circumstances.

E. Conditions of Evaluation. As was conceded earlier, a number of teachers seemed to be less than perfectly ego-involved in their ratings. While their interest became aroused when the study's true purpose was made known to them upon completion of their ratings, their apparent apathy during the evaluations might have reduced the teachers' true potential for reaction to the pupil's class and racial identity. Obviously, something could be done to arouse the teachers' interest without divulging the purpose of the study beforehand.

Another problem encountered was that the IBM cards and their instructions made ratings cumbersome. This could have distracted the teachers and so reduced their reaction to the critical race and class variables. This procedure might also account for the large variances in the error terms. Clearly, instructions for IBM usage should be simplified or the cards should be discarded.

F. Combining of Scales. It was mentioned earlier that the paucity of statistically significant difference might be due to an inflated error term. One solution to this might be to combine several ratings into one score. In this experiment, several practical considerations prevented the following-up of this recommendation.

G. Teacher sample. In this experiment, white, female teachers were used as judges. In no way can they be considered representative of New York City teachers--much less teachers in general. These teachers were probably more Jewish, younger, less experienced, and more motivated than the general population of teachers. Obviously, Negro and male teachers were not included in this sample of judges. Would they have reacted differently? As suggested by Gottlieb (1964), this might well be the case and deserves pursual.

It seems reasonable to argue that a better sample would have been obtained had we gone directly into the school system. While more tedious then testing large groups in classrooms, such a procedure might have produced more meaningful data.

A Concluding and Personal Note

In approaching the New York City school system for permission to enter their schools, great reticence was exhibited by them. Apparently, they had been "burnt" by previous surveys purporting to demonstrate prejudice on the part of teachers--directed particularly toward the low-class Negro child.

Using what are felt to be sound, controlled, experimental procedures, nothing in this study lends support to the notion that even if biases exist, they influence the teachers' ratings and evaluations. In this study we found that if the child behaved well, the teacher would want him in her class; if he behaved poorly, she would not want him (Item 9). This held whether the child was white or Negro, low-class or middle-class. A well behaved child was "close" to the teacher; an undisciplined one was "far" (Item 32). Again, this "distance" held across social class and race.

This extends even to those areas where strong associations probably exist between status and behaviors. Of the eight categories of pupils displaying disruptive behavior, six were perceived as more harmful than the Negro male low-class disruptive category. Similarly, the Negro male low-class disruptive pupil was perceived to be about equal in his hostility and unrestraint as the average disruptive student. While the differences probably are not significant, they certainly do not support in any way the notion that teachers perceive these students as more harmful than any other--again, once behavior is controlled.

One might argue that the rejection of the disruptive child by the teacher is a kind of prejudice. After all, many of his behaviors are ordinarily associated with lower-class children. In fact, some examples were taken from studies comparing low-class to middle-class children.

There is no argument to that point. If one dislikes inattentive, insubordinate, uncooperative, unrestrained, etc., children, and that attitude is labeled "prejudice", "bias", "discrimination", or "bigotry", so be it. Under these circumstances, who is not prejudiced--be he low-class or middle-class, Negro, white, or Chinese, male or female? Certainly, however, this conception of prejudice goes far afield from the popular one that speaks of prejudice toward groups--not behaviors.

One point might be conceded. This study, after all, did not purport to measure directly the teachers' attitudes and feelings toward Negro and low-class children, per se. Another point for the sake of argument, might even be conceded: teachers are prejudiced. If so, they seem to have done a most credible job of preventing this prejudice from influencing their evaluations.

Admittedly, the study contains a number of flaws, raises too many questions about its analogy to the "real"situation, and must be considered exploratory. Nevertheless, even within the confines of this experiment, the data are sufficiently important to understand, and in the context of any question of discrimination, are sufficiently important to appreciate.

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Footnotes

1. Sincere thanks are extended to the following people for the important assistance they provided during various phases of this study: Susan Thompson, Naomi Gotkis Rotter, Liesma Sprukts, Ingrid Johnson, and Carol Pecorella.
2. Copies of all distributed materials appear in the Appendix.
3. This information was obtained from the Personal Data sheet administered at the end of the experiment. Because not all teachers answered every item, the totals do not always add up to 128.
4. Our appreciation is extended to Drs. Morris Stein, John Neulinger, and Alice Singer of New York University for their helpful cooperation in the collection and analysis of the Self-Description Scale.
5. See Table 1 for descriptions of all items.
6. All comparisons with differences of .03 or less between the means were considered ties.

Appendix

The materials were presented to and answered by the teachers in the order in which they appear. The materials include:

1. Instruction sheet for reading and evaluating the vignettes.
2. The vignettes. All 16 forms are included. One form was assigned to each teacher.
3. A fifteen-item scale for evaluating the pupil.
4. Instructions for recording their evaluations of pupils on IBM cards.
5. Five forms each containing 13 bi-polar trait scales.
6. Self-Description Personality Scale
7. Personal Data Form

Instructions

As you are well aware, the Board of Education of New York requires that teachers evaluate the emotional and social adjustment of their pupils. This probably holds for most school systems in the United States. These ratings are entered on the Cumulative Record for each child. In order to make these evaluations more meaningful, a large number of scales are being tested. Some of these are now in use; others are being considered.

One procedure we have decided upon to investigate this issue is to measure the impressions different pupils make upon teachers. We are doing this by having you judge one such pupil against a series of scales.

Enclosed within this folder is a description of the pupil you are called upon to evaluate. The first few sentences consist of information about his background, such as age, sex, and family. Ordinarily, most of this information would be obtained were you the teacher of this child.

This is followed by a description of his school and classroom behavior. Some of the behaviors described are detailed and specific; others are broadly general. While the observations are necessarily few and incomplete, we have tried to record and present them as objectively as possible.

Read this vignette carefully and try to absorb all the information provided. After you have studied him, try to form an impression of this child. These impressions should be in terms of personality traits, recommendations, etc.

Accompanying this vignette are a series of rating scales. The scales are self-explanatory and they should be answered by placing a check-mark over the point that corresponds to your feelings. If you wish, you may refer back to the vignette while answering these items.

Those evaluations, of course, are anonymous. And, while we want your subjective reactions to the pupil, please do not be careless.

If you have any questions, please raise your hand. If not, read the vignette and proceed to fill in the scales.

WHITE - MALE - MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY - ORDERLY BEHAVIOR

Billy

Billy, a nine year old white child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near his home. His parents, both of whom are in their mid-thirties, are college graduates. His father has a successful law practice and his mother formerly taught in elementary school.

There are two other children in the family, a brother and a sister, both younger than Billy and both attending the same public school. While Billy shares a bedroom with his brother, his sister has her own.

Billy is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities. He was absent from school two days last winter, and has been late once this term. In school he dresses cleanly, although he does not always keep his hair combed or his clothes neat.

While Billy has indicated preference for arithmetic over English or social studies, he obtains above average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Billy has an IQ of 115. He has expressed the desire of someday becoming a lawyer. More recently, however, he has mentioned some interest in becoming a scientist. During "Hobby Day" he brought a chemistry set to class. Although not described in his manual, he demonstrated how the mixing of several chemicals could form certain compounds.

During recreation he plays ball with other boys, many of whom are a grade ahead of him. As he has commented in compositions and class discussions, he also spends part of each day by himself. He also has said that he reads and collects stamps and baseball cards.

When lining up for trips, lunch, or recess, Billy usually remains in his own place in line. Once while playing in the school basement, Billy accidently tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to him to pick up the basket, he did so. Another time, when a classmate had broken his arm, Billy carried his books to and from the schoolyard every day.

Billy often volunteers his services for things such as plays, minor construction jobs, or cleaning blackboard erasers. In a play produced by the class, Billy expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another boy, he frowned, became silent, but then continued to participate by helping to make props and costumes. In general those differences he does have with classmates tend to be short-lived.

This term Billy was elected president of his class. When involved in a class project, he has been observed allotting some responsibility to each member. Billy makes many suggestions which the group often accepts. For example, at his suggestion, the class visited a Ford assembly plant

where his uncle works.

Billy's homework, regularly turned in on time, is neat, legible, and often correct. He usually brings the necessary books and pencils to class. Only seldomly is Billy seen staring out of the window, at other children, or doodling; he appears wide-awake. To get his attention his teacher calls upon him once. He stays seated and conducts himself quietly through most of the lesson without dropping his pencil or books or slamming his desk.

When the teacher asks a question for which Billy thinks he has the answer, he waves his hand quite actively. When he is not called upon immediately, be begins to wiggle and twist and turn, but he will continue trying to answer further questions.

When working on a classroom assignment that is familiar or routine, such as going to the library or writing on the blackboard, he is usually able to follow the teacher's initial instructions. When the teacher presents him with a task that is complex or unfamiliar or difficult, Billy pauses, sometimes uttering things like, "I have to think first" or "Hmmm". When permitted, he will ask the teacher about the procedure. His responses generally are correct and occur without comment or ridicule by the class.

During test periods, he has not been seen whispering or looking at other papers. Most tests, though not all, are completed. During ordinary class sessions, Billy, on occasion, has been seen talking without permission. When the teacher has

left the classroom temporarily she has, upon return, spotted him calling aloud to other boys, or less frequently, out of his assigned seat. However, he returns to his seat and stops talking when she looks at him.

WHITE - MALE - MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY - DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOR

Billy

Billy, a nine year old white child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near his home. His parents, both of whom are in their mid-thirties, are college graduates. His father has a successful law practice and his mother formerly taught in elementary school.

There are two other children in the family, a brother and a sister, both younger than Billy and both attending the same public school. While Billy shares a bedroom with his brother, his sister has her own.

Billy is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities; however, he will stutter at times. He was absent from school for eighteen days last winter, and has been late twenty-one times this term. His hair is rarely combed and his shirt tail, more frequently than not, is out of his pants.

Billy has indicated a preference for sports over class studies and tends to obtain below average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Billy has an IQ of 90. He has expressed the idea of someday becoming a sailor. More recently, however, he has mentioned some interest in becoming a ballplayer. During "Hobby Day" he brought in a bag of small plastic soldiers.

During recreation he plays ball with other boys from his class. As he has commented in compositions and class discussions, he also spends part of each day by himself.

When lining up for trips, for lunch, or recess Billy usually leaves his own place and tries to move to the front of the line. Once while playing in the school basement, Billy accidently tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to him to pick up the basket, he denied knocking it over. Eventually he did pick it up. Another time, when a classmate had broken his arm, Billy carried his books to and from the school yard twice and then stopped.

Billy rarely offers his services for class projects and so is assigned to participate in plays or minor construction jobs. In a play produced by the class, Billy expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another boy, he frowned, put out his lower lip, and mumbled something inaudible. He then said that he did not want to help. In general those differences he does have with classmates tend to lead to fist fights.

Billy rarely turns in his homework on time. His work is often sloppy, illegible, and inaccurate. He has been asked several times to resubmit his homework. Billy frequently does not bring the necessary books and pencils

to class. He repeatedly is seen staring out the window, or doodling; he habitually appears droopy or tired. To get his attention, his teacher calls upon him twice. He often leaves his seat during the lesson, and may drop his pencil or books, or slam his desk.

When the teacher asks a question for which Billy thinks he has the answer, he waves his hand quite actively. If he is not called upon immediately, he shouts out the answer or stops answering further questions.

When working on a classroom assignment that is familiar or routine, such as going to the library or writing on the blackboard, he is frequently unable to follow the teacher's initial instructions. When the teacher presents him with a task that is complex, unfamiliar or difficult, Billy will take a quess, and if wrong sit there. When permitted he will ask the teacher about the procedure. His responses, which are sometimes incorrect, are at times met with laughter by the class.

During the last test, Billy was seen whispering and looking at other papers. Most tests, though not all, are not completed. During ordinary class sessions Billy has been seen talking without permission. When the teacher has left the room temporarily, she has, upon return, spotted him calling alound to other boys, or out of his assigned seat. However, he returns to his seat and stops talking when she calls out to him.

WHITE - MALE - LOW CLASS FAMILY - ORDERLY BEHAVIOR

Billy

Billy, a nine year old white child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near his home. His parents, both of whom are in their late twenties, are elementary school graduates. His father, an unskilled laborer, is currently unemployed. His mother works as a domestic.

There are four other children in the family, two brothers and two sisters. One brother is older while the others are younger. One brother and one sister attend the same public school. Billy shares the same bedroom with all other brothers and sisters.

Billy is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities. He was absent from school two days last winter, and has been late once this term. In school he dresses cleanly, although he does not always keep his hair combed or his clothes neat.

While Billy has indicated preserence for arithmetic over English or social studies, he obtains above average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Billy has an IQ of 115. He has expressed the desire of someday becoming a lawyer. More recently, however, he has mentioned some interest in becoming a scientist. During "Hobby Day" hr brought a chemistry set to class. Although not described in his manual, he demonstrated how the mixing of several chemicals could form certain compounds.

During recreation he plays ball with other boys, many of whom are a grade ahead of him. As he has commented in compositions and class discussions, he also spends part of each day by himself. He also has said that he reads and collects stamps and baseball cards.

When lining up for trips, lunch, or recess, Billy usually remains in his own place in line. Once while playing in the school basement, Billy accidently tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to him to pick up the basket, he did so. Another time, when a classmate had broken his arm, Billy carried his books to and from the schoolyard every day.

Billy often volunteers his services for things such as plays, minor construction jobs, or cleaning blackboard erasers. In a play produced by the class, Billy expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another boy, he frowned, became silent, but then continued to participate by helping to make props and costumes. In general those differences he does have with classmates tend to be short-lived.

This term Billy was elected president of his class. When involved in a class project, he has been observed allotting some responsibility to each member. Billy makes many suggestions which the group often accepts. For example, at his suggestion, the class visited a Ford assembly plant

where his uncle works.

Billy's homework, regularly turned in on time, is neat, legible, and often correct. He usually brings the necessary books and pencils to class. Only seldomly is Billy seen staring out of the window, at other children, or doodling; he appears wide-awake. To get his attention his teacher calls upon him once. He stays seated and conducts himself quietly through most of the lesson without dropping his pencil or books or slamming his desk.

When the teacher asks a question for which Billy thinks he has the answer, he waves his hand quite actively. When he is not called upon immediately, be begins to wiggle and twist and turn, but he will continue trying to answer further questions.

When working on a classroom assignment that is familiar or routine, such as going to the library or writing on the blackboard, he is usually able to follow the teacher's initial instructions. When the teacher presents him with a task that is complex or unfamiliar or difficult, Billy pauses, sometimes uttering things like, "I have to think first" or "Hmmm". When permitted, he will ask the teacher about the procedure. His responses generally are correct and occur without comment or ridicule by the class.

During test periods, he has not been seen whispering or looking at other papers. Most tests, though not all, are completed. During ordinary class sessions, Billy, on occasion, has been seen talking without permission. When the teacher has

left the classroom temporarily she has, upon return, spotted him calling aloud to other boys, or less frequently, out of his assigned seat. However, he returns to his seat and stops talking when she looks at him.

WHITE - MALE - LOW CLASS FAMILY - DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOR

Billy

Billy , a nine year old white child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near his home. His parents, both of whom are in their late twenties, are elementary school graduates. His father, an unskilled laborer, is currently unemployed. His mother works as a domestic.

There are four other children in the family, two brothers and two sisters. One brother is older while the others are younger. One brother and one sister attend the same public school. Billy shares the same bedroom with all other brothers and sisters.

Billy is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities; however, he will stutter at times. He was absent from school for eighteen days last winter, and has been late twenty-one times this term. His hair is rarely combed and his shirt tail, more frequently than not, is out of his pants.

Billy has indicated a preference for sports over class studies and tends to obtain below average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Billy has an IQ of 90. He has expressed the idea of someday becoming a sailor. More recently, however, he has mentioned some interest in becoming a ballplayer. During "Hobby Day" he brought in a bag of small plastic soldiers.

During recreation he plays ball with other boys from his class. As he has commented in compositions and class discussions, he also spends part of each day by himself.

When lining up for trips, for lunch, or recess Billy usually leaves his own place and tries to move to the front of the line. Once while playing in the school basement, Billy accidently tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to him to pick up the basket, he denied knocking it over. Eventually he did pick it up. Another time, when a classmate had broken his arm, Billy carried his books to and from the school yard twice and then stopped.

Billy rarely offers his services for class projects and so is assigned to participate in plays or minor construction jobs. In a play produced by the class, Billy expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another boy, he frowned, put out his lower lip, and mumbled something inaudible. He then said that he did not want to help. In general those differences he does have with classmates tend to lead to fist fights.

Billy rarely turns in his homework on time. His work is often sloppy, illegible, and inaccurate. He has been asked several times to resubmit his homework. Billy frequently does not bring the necessary books and pencils

to class. He repeatedly is seen staring out the window, or doodling; he habitually appears droopy or tired. To get his attention, his teacher calls upon him twice. He often leaves his seat during the lesson, and may drop his pencil or books, or slam his desk.

When the teacher asks a question for which Billy thinks he has the answer, he waves his hand quite actively. If he is not called upon immediately, he shouts out the answer or stops answering further questions.

When working on a classroom assignment that is familiar or routine, such as going to the library or writing on the blackboard, he is frequently unable to follow the teacher's initial instructions. When the teacher presents him with a task that is complex, unfamiliar or difficult, Billy will take a quess, and if wrong sit there. When permitted he will ask the teacher about the procedure. His responses, which are sometimes incorrect, are at times met with laughter by the class.

During the last test, Billy was seen whispering and looking at other papers. Most tests, though not all, are not completed. During ordinary class sessions Billy has been seen talking without permission. When the teacher has left the room temporarily, she has, upon return, spotted him calling alound to other boys, or out of his assigned seat. However, he returns to his seat and stops talking when she calls out to him.

WHITE - FEMALE - MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY - ORDERLY BEHAVIOR

Ann

Ann, a nine year old white child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near her home. Her parents, both of whom are in their mid-thirties, are college graduates. Her father has a successful law practice, and her mother formerly taught in elementary school.

There are two other children in the family, two brothers, one older and one younger than Ann, and both attending the same public school. While her brothers share a bedroom, she has her own.

Ann is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities. She was absent from school two days last winter, and has been late once this term. In school she dresses neatly.

While Ann has indicated preference for English or social studies over arithmetic, she obtains above average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Ann has IQ of 115. She has expressed the desire of someday becoming a teacher. More recently, however, she has mentioned some interest in becoming a nurse. During "Hobby Day" she brought in a nurse's kit to class. Although not described in her manual she demonstrated how to make a tourniquet.

During recreation she jumps rope with other girls from her class. As she has commented in compositions and

class discussions, she also spends part of each day by herself. She also has said that she collects dolls.

When lining up for trips, lunch, or recess, Ann usually remains in her own place in line. Once while playing in the school basement, Ann accidentally tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to her to pick up the basket, she did so. Another time, when a classmate had broken her arm, Ann carried her books to and from the schoolyard every day.

Ann often volunteers her services for things such as plays, poster making, or cleaning the blackboard. In a play produced by the class, Ann expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another girl, she frowned, became silent, but then continued to participate by helping to make costumes and props. In general, those differences she does have with classmates tend to be short-lived.

This term Ann was elected vice-president of her class. When involved in a class project, she has been observed allotting some responsibility to each member. Ann makes many suggestions which the group often accepts. For example, at her suggestion, the class visited a hospital where her aunt is supervisor of nurses.

Ann's homework, regularly turned in on time, is neat, legible, and often correct. She usually brings the

necessary books and pencils to class. Only seldomly is Ann seen staring out of the window, at other children, or doodling; she appears wide-awake. To get her attention, her teacher calls upon her once. She stays seated and conducts herself quietly through most of the lesson without dropping her pencil or books or slamming her desk.

When the teacher asks a question for which Ann thinks she has the answer, she waves her hand quite actively. When she is not called upon immediately, she begins to wiggle and twist and turn, but she will continue trying to answer further questions.

When working on a classroom assignment that is familiar or routine, such as going to the library or writing on the blackboard, she is usually able to follow the teacher's initial instructions. When the teacher presents her with a task that is complex, unfamiliar, or difficult, Ann pauses, sometimes muttering things like, "I have to think first" or "hmmm". When permitted, she will ask the teacher about the procedure. Her responses generally are correct and occur without comment or ridicule by the class.

During test periods, she has not been seen whispering or looking at other papers. Most tests, though not all, are completed. During ordinary class sessions, Ann, on occasion, has been seen talking without permission. When the teacher has left the classroom temporarily, she has, upon return, spotted her calling aloud to other girls. However, she stops talking when the teacher looks at her.

WHITE - FEMALE - MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY- DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOR

Ann

Ann, a nine year old white child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near her home. Her parents, both of whom are in their mid-thirties, are college graduates. Her father has a successful law practice, and her mother formerly taught in elementary school.

There are two other children in the family, two brothers, one older and one younger than Ann, and both attending the same public school. While her brothers share a bedroom, she has her own.

Ann is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities; however, she will stutter at times. She was absent from school for eighteen days last winter, and has been late twenty-one times this term. Frequently, her hair is uncombed.

Ann has indicated a preference for her art classes over her other academic studies. She tends to obtain below average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Ann has an IQ of 90. She has expressed the idea of someday becoming a nurse. During "Hobby Day" she brought in some small plastic charms.

During recreation she jumps rope with other girls from her class. As she has commented in compositions and class discussions, she also spends part of each day by herself.

When lining up for trips, for lunch, or recess, Ann uaually leaves her own place and tries to move to the front of the line. Once while playing in the school basement, Ann accidently tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to her to pick up the basket, she denied knocking it over. Eventually she did pick it up. Another time, when a classmate had broken her arm, Ann carried her books to and from the schoolyard twice and then stopped.

Ann rarely offers her services for class projects, and so is assigned to participate in plays and poster making. In a play produced by the class, Ann expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another pupil, she frowned, put out her lower lip, and mumbled something inaudible. She then said that she did not want to help. In general those differences she does have with classmates tend to lead to fights and crying.

Ann rarely turns in her homework on time. Her work is sloppy, illegible, and inaccurate. She has been asked several times to resubmit her homework. Ann frequently does not bring the necessary books and pencils to class. She repeatedly is seen staring out of the window, at other children, or doodling. She habitually appears droopy or tired. To get her attention, the teacher calls upon her twice. She rarely gets out of her seat during the lesson, but may drop pencils or books, or slam her desk.

When the teacher asks a question for which Ann thinks she has the answer, she waves her hand quite actively. If she is not called upon immediately, she sometimes shouts out the answer or stops answering further questions.

When working on a classroom assignment that is familiar or routine, such as going to the library or writing on the blackboard, she is frequently unable to follow the teacher's initial instructions. When the teacher presents her with a task that is complex, unfamiliar, or difficult, Ann will take a guess, and if wrong, sit there. When permitted, she will ask the teacher about the procedure. Her responses which are sometimes incorrect, are at times met with laughter by the class.

During the last test, Ann was seen whispering and looking at other papers. Most tests, though not all, are not completed. During ordinary class sessions Ann has been seen talking without permission. When the teacher has left the classroom temporarily, she has, upon return, spotted her calling aloud to other girls. However, she stops talking when the teacher calls out to her.

WHITE - FEMALE - LOW CLASS FAMILY - ORDERLY BEHAVIOR

Ann

Ann, a nine year old white child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near her home. Her parents, both of whom are in their late twenties, are elementary school graduates. Her father, an unskilled laborer, is currently unemployed; her mother works as a domestic.

There are four other children in the family, two brothers and two sisters. One brother is older while the others are younger. One brother and one sister attend the same public school. Ann shares the same bedroom with all other brothers and sisters.

Ann is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities. She was absent from school two days last winter, and has been late once this term. In school she dresses neatly.

While Ann has indicated preference for English or social studies over arithmetic, she obtains above average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Ann has IQ of 115. She has expressed the desire of someday becoming a teacher. More recently, however, she has mentioned some interest in becoming a nurse. During "Hobby Day" she brought in a nurse's kit to class. Although not described in her manual, she demonstrated how to make a tourniquet.

During recreation she jumps robe with other girls from her class. As she has commented in compositions and

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Ann rarely offers her services for class projects, and so is assigned to participate in plays and poster making. In a play produced by the class, Ann expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another pupil, she frowned, put out her lower lip, and mumbled something inaudible. She then said that she did not want to help. In general those differences she does have with classmates tend to lead to fights and crying..

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WHITE - FEMALE - LOW CLASS FAMILY - DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOR

Ann

Ann, a nine year old white child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near her home. Her parents, both of whom are in their late twenties, are elementary school graduates. Her father, an unskilled laborer, is currently unemployed; her mother works as a domestic.

There are four other children in the family, two brothers and two sisters. One brother is older while the others are younger. One brother and one sister attend the same public school. Ann shares the same bedroom with all other brothers and sisters.

Ann is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities; however, she will stutter at times. She was absent from school for eighteen days last winter, and has been late twenty-one times this term. Frequently, her hair is uncombed.

Ann has indicated a preference for her art classes over her other academic studies. She tends to obtain below average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Ann has an IQ of 90. She has expressed the idea of someday becoming a nurse. During "Hobby Day" she brought in some small plastic charms.

During recreation she jumps rope with other girls from her class. As she has commented in compositons and class discussions, she also spends part of each day by herself.

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NEGRO - MALE - MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY - ORDERLY BEHAVIOR

Billy

Billy, a nine year old Negro child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near his home. His parents, both of whom are in their mid-thirties, are college graduates. His father has a successful law practice and his mother formerly taught in elementary school.

There are two other children in the family, a brother and a sister, both younger than Billy and both attending the same public school. While Billy shares a bedroom with his brother, his sister has her own.

Billy is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities. He was absent from school two days last winter, and has been late once this term. In school he dresses cleanly, although he does not always keep his hair combed or his clothes neat.

While Billy has indicated preference for arithmetic over English or social studies, he obtains above average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Billy has an IQ of 115. He has expressed the desire of someday becoming a lawyer. More recently, however, he has mentioned some interest in becoming a scientist. During "Hobby Day" he brought a chemistry set to class. Although not described in his manual, he demonstrated how the mixing of several chemicals could form certain compounds.

During recreation he plays ball with other boys, many of whom are a grade ahead of him. As he has commented in compositions and class discussions, he also spends part of each day by himself. He also has said that he reads and collects stamps and baseball cards.

When lining up for trips, lunch, or recess, Billy usually remains in his own place in line. Once while playing in the school basement, Billy accidently tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to him to pick up the basket, he did so. Another time, when a classmate had broken his arm, Billy carried his books to and from the schoolyard every day.

Billy often volunteers his services for things such as plays, minor construction jobs, or cleaning blackboard erasers. In a play produced by the class, Billy expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another boy, he frowned, became silent, but then continued to participate by helping to make props and costumes. In general those differences he does have with classmates tend to be short-lived.

This term Billy was elected president of his class. When involved in a class project, he has been observed allotting some responsibility to each member. Billy makes many suggestions which the group often accepts. For example, at his suggestion, the class visited a Ford assembly plant

where his uncle works.

Billy's homework, regularly turned in on time, is neat, legible, and often correct. He usually brings the necessary books and pencils to class. Only seldomly is Billy seen staring out of the window, at other children, or doodling; he appears wide-awake. To get his attention his teacher calls upon him once. He stays seated and conducts himself quietly through most of the lesson without dropping his pencil or books or slamming his desk.

When the teacher asks a question for which Billy thinks he has the answer, he waves his hand quite actively. When he is not called upon immediately, be begins to wiggle and twist and turn, but he will continue trying to answer further questions.

When working on a classroom assignment that is familiar or routine, such as going to the library or writing on the blackboard, he is usually able to follow the teacher's initial instructions. When the teacher presents him with a task that is complex or unfamiliar or difficult, Billy pauses, sometimes uttering things like, "I have to think first" or "Hmmm". When permitted, he will ask the teacher about the procedure. His responses generally are correct and occur without comment or ridicule by the class.

During test periods, he has not been seen whispering or looking at other papers. Most tests, though not all, are completed. During ordinary class sessions, Billy, on occasion, has been seen talking without permission. When the teacher has

left the classroom temporarily she has, upon return, spotted him calling aloud to other boys, or less frequently, out of his assigned seat. However, he returns to his seat and stops talking when she looks at him.

Billy

Billy, a nine year old Negro child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near his home. His parents, both of whom are in their mid-thirties, are college graduates. His father has a successful law practice and his mother formerly taught in elementary school.

There are two other children in the family, a brother and a sister, both younger than Billy and both attending the same public school. While Billy shares a bedroom with his brother, his sister has her own.

Billy is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities; however, he will stutter at times. He was absent from school for eighteen days last winter, and has been late twenty-one times this term. His hair is rarely combed and his shirt tail, more frequently than not, is out of his pants.

Billy has indicated a preference for sports over class studies and tends to obtain below average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Billy has an IQ of 90. He has expressed the idea of someday becoming a sailor. More recently, however, he has mentioned some interest in becoming a ballplayer. During "Hobby Day" he brought in a bag of small plastic soldiers.

During recreation he plays ball with other boys from his class. As he has commented in compositions and class discussions, he also spends part of each day by himself.

When lining up for trips, for lunch, or recess Billy usually leaves his own place and tries to move to the front of the line. Once while playing in the school basement, Billy accidently tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to him to pick up the basket, he denied knocking it over. Eventually he did pick it up. Another time, when a classmate had broken his arm, Billy carried his books to and from the school yard twice and then stopped.

Billy rarely offers his services for class projects and so is assigned to participate in plays or minor construction jobs. In a play produced by the class, Billy expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another boy, he frowned, put out his lower lip, and mumbled something inaudible. He then said that he did not want to help. In general those differences he does have with classmates tend to lead to fist fights.

Billy rarely turns in his homework on time. His work is often sloppy, illegible, and inaccurate. He has been asked several times to resubmit his homework. Billy frequently does not bring the necessary books and pencils

to class. He repeatedly is seen staring out the window, or doodling; he habitually appears droopy or tired. To get his attention, his teacher calls upon him twice. He often leaves his seat during the lesson, and may drop his pencil or books, or slam his desk.

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NEGRO - MALE - LOW CLASS FAMILY - ORDERLY BEHAVIOR

Billy

Billy, a nine year old Negro child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near his home. His parents, both of whom are in their late twenties, are elementary school graduates. His father, an unskilled laborer, is currently unemployed. His mother works as a domestic.

There are four other children in the family, two brothers and two sisters. One brother is older while the others are younger. One brother and one sister attend the same public school. Billy shares the same bedroom with all other brothers and sisters.

Billy is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities. He was absent from school two days last winter, and has been late once this term. In school he dresses cleanly, although he does not always keep his hair combed or his clothes neat.

While Billy has indicated preference for arithmetic over English or social studies, he obtains above average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Billy has an IQ of 115. He has expressed the desire of someday becoming a lawyer. More recently, however, he has mentioned some interest in becoming a scientist. During "Hobby Day" he brought a chemistry set to class. Although not described in his manual, he demonstrated how the mixing of several chemicals could form certain compounds.

During recreation he plays ball with other boys, many of whom are a grade ahead of him. As he has commented in compositions and class discussions, he also spends part of each day by himself. He also has said that he reads and collects stamps and baseball cards.

When lining up for trips, lunch, or recess, Billy usually remains in his own place in line. Once while playing in the school basement, Billy accidently tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to him to pick up the basket, he did so. Another time, when a classmate had broken his arm, Billy carried his books to and from the schoolyard every day.

Billy often volunteers his services for things such as plays, minor construction jobs, or cleaning blackboard erasers. In a play produced by the class, Billy expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another boy, he frowned, became silent, but then continued to participate by helping to make props and costumes. In general those differences he does have with classmates tend to be short-lived.

This term Billy was elected president of his class. When involved in a class project, he has been observed allotting some responsibility to each member. Billy makes many suggestions which the group often accepts. For example, at his suggestion, the class visited a Ford assembly plant

where his uncle works.

Billy's homework, regularly turned in on time, is neat, legible, and often correct. He usually brings the necessary books and pencils to class. Only seldomly is Billy seen staring out of the window, at other children, or doodling; he appears wide-awake. To get his attention his teacher calls upon him once. He stays seated and conducts himself quietly through most of the lesson without dropping his pencil or books or slamming his desk.

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Billy

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There are four other children in the family, two brothers and two sisters. One brother is older while the others are younger. One brother and one sister attend the same public school. Billy shares the same bedroom with all other brothers and sisters.

Billy is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities; however, he will stutter at times. He was absent from school for eighteen days last winter, and has been late twenty-one times this term. His hair is rarely combed and his shirt tail, more frequently than not, is out of his pants.

Billy has indicated a preference for sports over class studies and tends to obtain below average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Billy has an IQ of 90. He has expressed the idea of someday becoming a sailor. More recently, however, he has mentioned some interest in becoming a ballplayer. During "Hobby Day" he brought in a bag of small plastic soldiers.

During recreation he plays ball with other boys from his class. As he has commented in compositions and class discussions, he also spends part of each day by himself.

When lining up for trips, for lunch, or recess Billy usually leaves his own place and tries to move to the front of the line. Once while playing in the school basement, Billy accidently tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to him to pick up the basket, he denied knocking it over. Eventually he did pick it up. Another time, when a classmate had broken his arm, Billy carried his books to and from the school yard twice and then stopped.

Billy rarely offers his services for class projects and so is assigned to participate in plays or minor construction jobs. In a play produced by the class, Billy expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another boy, he frowned, put out his lower lip, and mumbled something inaudible. He then said that he did not want to help. In general those differences he does have with classmates tend to lead to fist fights.

Billy rarely turns in his homework on time. His work is often sloppy, illegible, and inaccurate. He has been asked several times to resubmit his homework. Billy frequently does not bring the necessary books and pencils

to class. He repeatedly is seen staring out the window, or doodling; he habitually appears droopy or tired. To get his attention, his teacher calls upon him twice. He often leaves his seat during the lesson, and may drop his pencil or books, or slam his desk.

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NEGRO - FEMALE - MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY - ORDERLY BEHAVIOR

Ann

Ann, a nine year old Negro child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near her home. Her parents, both of whom are in their mid-thirties, are college graduates. Her father has a successful law practice, and her mother formerly taught in elementary school.

There are two other children in the family, two brothers, one older and one younger than Ann, and both attending the same public school. While her brothers share a bedroom, she has her own.

Ann is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities. She was absent from school two days last winter, and has been late once this term In school she dresses neatly.

While Ann has indicated preference for English or social studies over arithmetic, she obtains above average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Ann has IQ of 115. She has expressed the desire of someday becoming a teacher. More recently, however, she has mentioned some interest in becoming a nurse. During "Hobby Day" she brought in a nurse's kit to class. Although not described in her manual, she demonstrated how to make a tourniquet.

During recreation she jumps rope with other girls from her class. As she has commented in compositions and

class discussions, she also spends part of each day by herself. She also has said that she collects dolls.

When lining up for trips, lunch, or recess, Ann usually remains in her own place in line. Once while playing in the school basement, Ann accidentally tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to her to pick up the basket, she did so. Another time, when a classmate had broken her arm, Ann carried her books to and from the schoolyard every day.

Ann often volunteers her services for things such as plays, poster making, or cleaning the blackboard. In a play produced by the class, Ann expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another girl, she frowned, became silent, but then continued to participate by helping to make costumes and props. In general, those differences she does have with classmates tend to be short-lived.

This term Ann was elected vice-president of her class. When involved in a class project, she has been observed allotting some responsibility to each member. Ann makes many suggestions which the group often accepts. For example, at her suggestion, the class visited a hospital where her aunt is supervisor of nurses.

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NEGRO - FEMALE - MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY - DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOR

Ann

Ann, a nine year old Negro child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near her home. Her parents, both of whom are in their mid-thirties, are college graduates. Her father has a sucessful law practice, and her mother formerly taught in elementary school.

There are two other children in the family, two brothers, one older and one younger than Ann, and both attending the same public school. While her brothers share a bedroom, she has her own.

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When the teacher asks a question for which Ann thinks she has the answer, she waves her hand quite actively. If she is not called upon immediately, she sometimes shouts out the answer or stops answering further questions.

When working on a classroom assignment that is familiar or routine, such as going to the library or writing on the blackboard, she is frequently unable to follow the teacher's initial instructions. When the teacher presents her with a task that is complex, unfamiliar, or difficult, Ann will take a guess, and if wrong, sit there. When permitted, she will ask the teacher about the procedure. Her responses which are sometimes incorrect, are at times met with laughter by the class.

During the last test, Ann was seen whispering and looking at other papers. Most tests, though not all, are not completed. During ordinary class sessions Ann has been seen talking without permission. When the teacher has left the classroom temporarily, she has, upon return, spotted her calling aloud to other girls. However, she stops talking when the teacher calls out to her.

NEGRO - FEMALE - LOW CLASS FAMILY - ORDERLY BEHAVIOR

Ann

Ann, a nine year old Negro child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near her home. Her parents, both of whom are in their late twenties, are elementary school graduates. Her father, an unskilled laborer, is currently unemployed; her mother works as a domestic.

There are four other children in the family, two brothers and two sisters. One brother is older while the others are younger. One brother and one sister attend the same public school. Ann shares the same bedroom with all other brothers and sisters.

Ann is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities. She was absent from school two days last winter, and has been late once this term. In school she dresses neatly.

While Ann has indicated preference for English or social studies over arithmetic, she obtains above average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Ann has IQ of 115. She has expressed the desire of someday becoming a teacher. More recently, however, she has mentioned some interest in becoming a nurse. During "Hobby Day" she brought in a nurse's kit to class. Although not described in her manual, she demonstrated how to make a tourniquet.

During recreation she jumps rope with other girls from her class. As she has commented in compositions and

class discussions, she also spends part of each day by herself. She also has said that she collects dolls.

When lining up for trips, lunch, or recess, Ann usually remains in her own place in line. Once while playing in the school basement, Ann accidentally tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to her to pick up the basket, she did so. Another time, when a classmate had broken her arm, Ann carried her books to and from the schoolyard every day.

Ann often volunteers her services for things such as plays, poster making, or cleaning the blackboard. In a play produced by the class, Ann expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another girl, she frowned, became silent, but then continued to participate by helping to make costumes and props. In general, those differences she does have with classmates tend to be short-lived.

This term Ann was elected vice-president of her class. When involved in a class project, she has been observed allotting some responsibility to each member. Ann makes many suggestions which the group often accepts. For example, at her suggestion, the class visited a hospital where her aunt is supervisor of nurses.

Ann's homework, regularly turned in on time, is neat, legible, and often correct. She usually brings the

necessary books and pencils to class. Only seldomly is Ann seen staring out of the window, at other children, or doodling; she appears wide-awake. To get her attention, her teacher calls upon her once. She stays seated and conducts herself quietly through most of the lesson without dropping her pencil or books or slamming her desk.

When the teacher asks a question for which Ann thinks she has the answer, she waves her hand quite actively. When she is not called upon immediately, she begins to wiggle and twist and turn, but she will continue trying to answer further questions.

When working on a classroom assignment that is familiar or routine, such as going to the library or writing on the blackboard, she is usually able to follow the teacher's initial instructions. When the teacher presents her with a task that is complex, unfamiliar, or difficult, Ann pauses, sometimes muttering things like, "I have to think first" or "hmmm". When permitted, she will ask the teacher about the procedure. Her responses generally are correct and occur without comment or ridicule by the class.

During test periods, she has not been seen whispering or looking at other papers. Most tests, though not all, are completed. During ordinary class sessions, Ann, on occasion, has been seen talking without permission. When the teacher has left the classroom temporarily, she has, upon return, spotted her calling aloud to other girls. However, she stops talking when the teacher looks at her.

NEGRO - FEMALE - LOW CLASS FAMILY - DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOR

Ann

Ann, a nine year old Negro child, is a fourth grade pupil in a public school near her home. Her parents, both of whom are in their late twenties, are elementary school graduates. Her father, an unskilled laborer, is currently unemployed; her mother works as a domestic.

There are four other children in the family, two brothers and two sisters. One brother is older while the others are younger. One brother and one sister attend the same public school. Ann shares the same bedroom with all other brothers and sisters.

Ann is of average height and weight and has no apparent disabilities or deformities; however, she will stutter at times. She was absent from school for eighteen days last winter, and has been late twenty-one times this term. Frequently, her hair is uncombed.

Ann has indicated a preference for her art classes over her other academic studies. She tends to obtain below average grades in all subjects. On the basis of an intelligence test administered in the second grade, Ann has an IQ of 90. She has expressed the idea of someday becoming a nurse. During "Hobby Day" she brought in some small plastic charms.

During recreation she jumps rope with other girls from her class. As she has commented in compositions and class discussions, she also spends part of each day by herself.

When lining up for trips, for lunch, or recess, Ann uaually leaves her own place and tries to move to the front of the line. Once while playing in the school basement, Ann accidently tipped over a waste basket spilling out some pieces of scrap paper. When the teacher called out to her to pick up the basket, she denied knocking it over. Eventually she did pick it up. Another time, when a classmate had broken her arm, Ann carried her books to and from the schoolyard twice and then stopped.

Ann rarely offers her services for class projects, and so is assigned to participate in plays and poster making. In a play produced by the class, Ann expressed interest in the leading role. When the class selected another pupil, she frowned, put out her lower lip, and mumbled something inaudible. She then said that she did not want to help. In general those differences she does have with classmates tend to lead to fights and crying..

Ann rarely turns in her homework on time. Her work is sloppy, illegible, and inaccurate. She has been asked several times to resubmit her homework. Ann frequently does not bring the necessary books and pencils to class. She repeatedly is seen staring out of the window, at other children, or doodling. She habitually appears droopy or tired. To get her attention, the teacher calls upon her twice. She rarely gets out of her seat during the lesson, but may drop pencils or books, or slam her desk.

When the teacher asks a question for which Ann thinks she has the answer, she waves her hand quite actively. If she is not called upon immediately, she sometimes shouts out the answer or stops answering further questions.

When working on a classroom assignment that is familiar or routine, such as going to the library or writing on the blackboard, she is frequently unable to follow the teacher's initial instructions. When the teacher presents her with a task that is complex, unfamiliar, or difficult, Ann will take a guess, and if wrong, sit there. When permitted, she will ask the teacher about the procedure. Her responses which are sometimes incorrect, are at times met with laughter by the class.

During the last test, Ann was seen whispering and looking at other papers. Most tests, though not all, are not completed. During ordinary class sessions Ann has been seen talking without permission. When the teacher has left the classroom temporarily, she has, upon return, spotted her calling aloud to other girls. However, she stops talking when the teacher calls out to her.

Now that you have read the case history of this child, we would like you to make certain judgments and recommendations. Please be candid and try to answer each item as if you were answering them for one of your own pupils. Answer by placing a check-mark over the number that corresponds to your feelings. If you wish, you may refer back to the vignette at any time.

1. How well does he get along with other children?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very poor		Poor		Neither poor nor good		Good		Very good

2. How well does he obey rules and regulations?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very good		Good		Neither good nor poor		Poor		Very poor

3. How well does he carry out his responsibilities?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very good		Good		Neither good nor poor		Poor		Very poor

4. Is he satisfied with a reasonable amount of attention from the teacher?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very dissatisfied		Dissatisfied		Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied		Satisfied		Very satisfied

5. How much self-control does he have?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Excellent self-control		Good self-control		Fair self-control		Weak self-control		Very poor self-control

6. How necessary is it that he see the school psychologist?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Definitely necessary		Necessary		Slightly necessary		Unnecessary		Not at all necessary

7. How satisfactory is the extent of his participation in class?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Quite satisfactory		Satisfactory		Neither satisfactory nor unsatisfactory		Unsatisfactory		Quite unsatisfactory

8. Do you believe his personal and social behavior will improve next term?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Will deteriorate		Will worsen somewhat		Will show no change		Will improve somewhat		Will show strong improvement

9. How willing would you be to have a child like this in your class?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Definitely willing		Willing		Indifferent		Opposed		Definitely Opposed

10. How would you rate his discipline?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very poor		Poor		Average		Good		Very good

11. Interms of motivation, how great would you say is his need for achievement?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
has a very strong need for achievement		has a high need for achievement		need for achievement is average		has a low need for achievement		has no need for achievemen

12. How would you rate his fear of failure in school?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very low fear of failure		low fear of failure		neither high nor low fear of failure		high fear of failure		very high fear of failure

13. How considerate,would you say, is he of others?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Extremely thoughtless of others		thoughtless of others		about average		considerate of others		highly considera of others

14. In light of what you've read about this pupil, how much of an achiever is he?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Has greatly overachieved		has over-achieved		about right		has under-achieved		has greatly achieve under-

15. How great is his desire to be like the others, i.e., average?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Highly desirous of being average		desirous of being average		slightly desirous of being average		no desire to be average		desires to be differen

In addition to evaluating the pupil on 9 point scales, you are asked to make other evaluations, this time recording your response on IBM cards.

You have just been provided with 5 pages of rating scales. These are identified as Form 1, Form 2, ... Form 5. Please turn to these forms. Each Form contains 13 scales. You are to use these scales in recording your evaluation of the pupil.

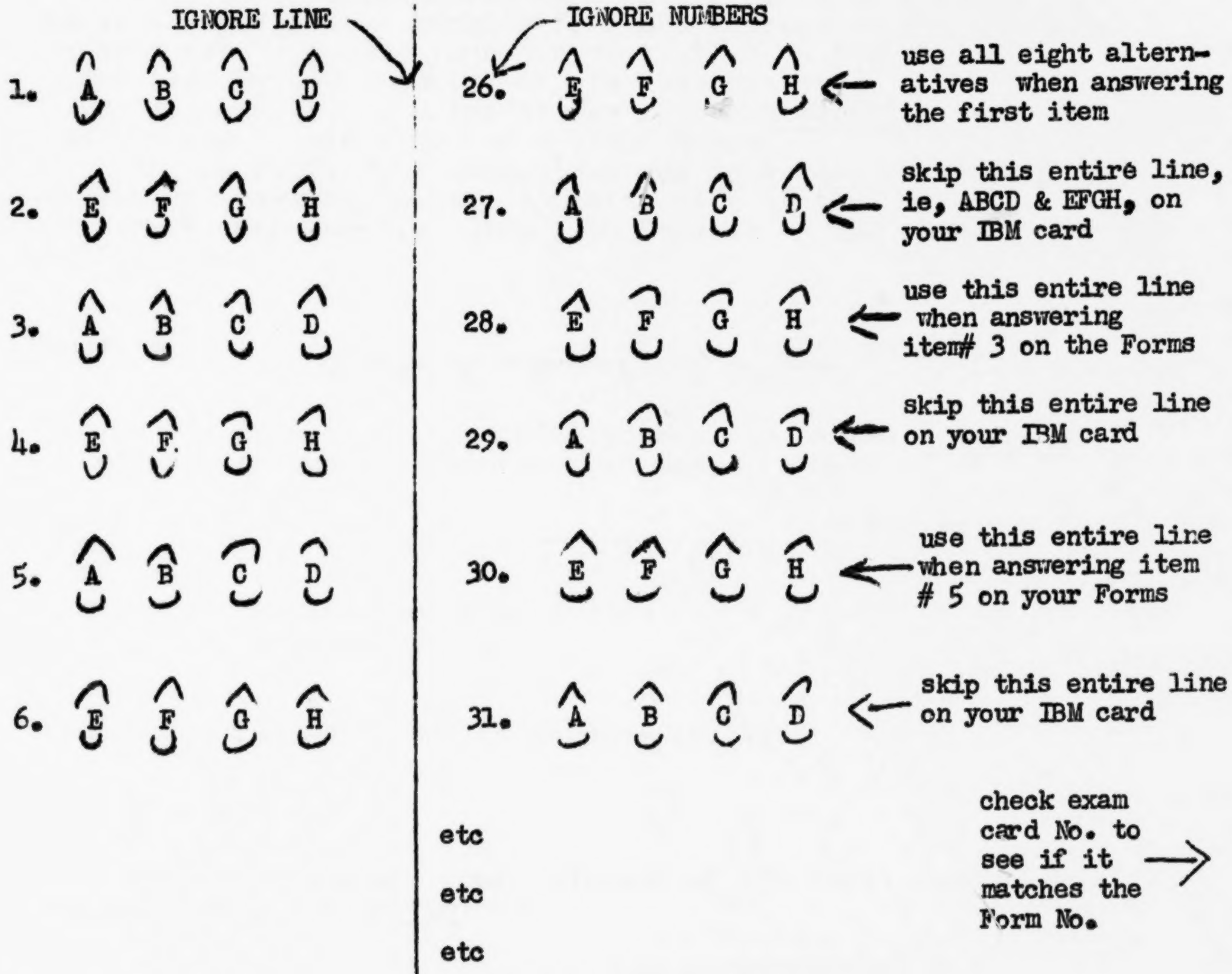
As you see, the scales on the Forms are identified only by odd numbers: 1, 3, 5, ..., up to 25. It is essential that you now pick up and examine the five IBM cards onto which you will actually record your response. These are not standard IBM cards. Turn the card on the side to the space marked "Exam Card No." The answers to the 13 scales on Form 1 go on Exam Card No. 1, the answers to the 13 scales on Form 2 go on Exam Card No. 2, and so forth.

Now examine the item numbers on the IBM card. In the left hand margin, the numbers are in order from 1-25, i.e., 1, 2, 3, ... up to 23, 24, 25. Now look down the center of the card where the item numbers are in order from 26-50. The numbers in the center of the card as well as the center line are to be ignored. Specifically, ignore the enumeration from 26 to 50 ~~80~~.

Now return to the Forms and look at the first scale, i.e., item 1 on Form 1: bored - interested. As you see there are eight letters, each corresponding to an alternative (A detailed description of what alternative each letter stands for will be given later.) . In answering, you would select one alternative, i.e., one letter, from among the eight. If the alternative you eventually select is either A,B,C, or D, you would record your response next to item 1 on IBM EXAM CARD NO. 1, on the left hand side. The left side of the IBM card contains alternatives A,B,C, or D. Suppose the alternative you select from Scale 1, Form 1, is either E,F,G, or H. You would then record your response on the right hand side. The right hand side of the IBM card holds alternatives E,F,G,H. Since there are no even-numbered scale items on the Forms, you have to skip all even-numbered rows as indicated by the numbers in the left margin on the IBM cards. In other words, on the IBM cards, you will use odd item numbers: 1,3,5,7, ... up to 21, 23, and 25, and skip even item numbers: 2,4,6,8, ... up to 20, 22, 24. If the above explanation is confusing, look at the figure provided on the next page.

Figure 1

Examination Answer Card


IGNORE LINE
IGNORE NUMBERS
1. A B C D
2. E F G H
3. A B C D
4. E F G H
5. A B C D
6. E F G H
26. E F G H
27. A B C D
28. E F G H
29. A B C D
30. E F G H
31. A B C D
etc
etc
etc

use all eight alternatives when answering the first item

skip this entire line, ie, ABCD & EFGH, on your IBM card

use this entire line when answering item# 3 on the Forms

skip this entire line on your IBM card

use this entire line when answering item # 5 on your Forms

skip this entire line on your IBM card

check exam card No. to see if it matches the Form No.

Here is how to use the IBM cards to record your answers.

Each line on the Forms is a rating scale of a given personality trait -- ranging from one extreme to its opposite. We want you to record your judgment of where the pupil fits as determined by your reading of his case history.

The A, B, C, D, alternatives run in descending order from one extreme to middling for a given trait.

The E, F, G, H, alternatives run in ascending order from middling to extreme on the opposite side of the scale.

Take, for example, item 1 on Form 1: On the sheet it appears as follows:

1. bored ________________________________ interested
A B C D E F G H

If your impression of the child places him on the extremely bored side of the bored-interested scale, thus.

1. bored ________________________________ interested
A B C D E F G H
↑
(about where your judgment lies)

You would then mark the IBM card as follows:

1. ● B C D 26. E F G H

Suppose, however, your judgment of the pupil was that he was extremely interested.

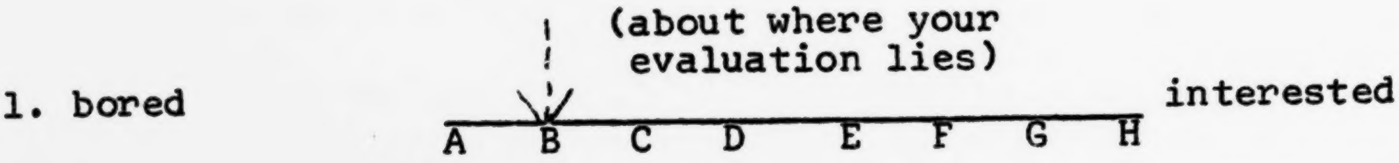
(about where your impression lies)
↓
1. bored ________________________________ interested
A B C D E F G H

You would then mark the IBM card as follows:

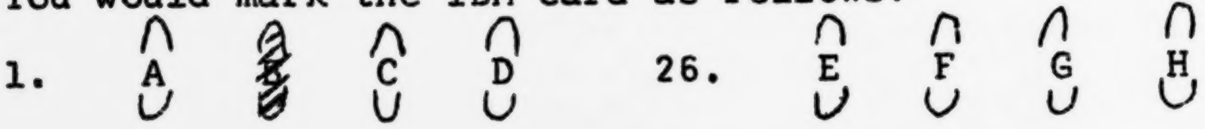
1. A B C D 26. E F G ●

NOTE: Do not mark the Forms; mark only the IBM cards. In addition, ignore the enumeration (in this instance, "26") running down the center of the IBM card.

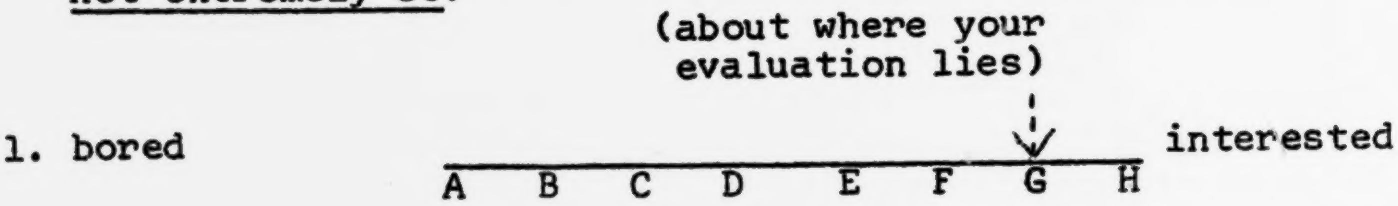
Suppose you feel the pupil is closely related to the bored end of the scale, but not extremely so:


(about where your evaluation lies)
1. bored
interested
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H

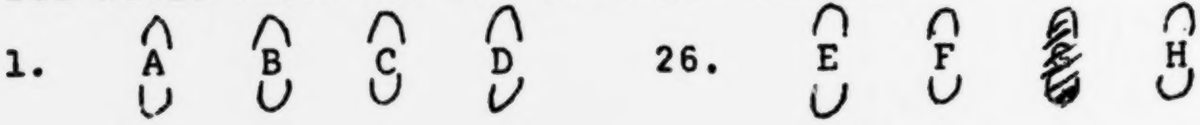
You would mark the IBM card as follows:


1.
A
B
C
D
26.
E
F
G
H

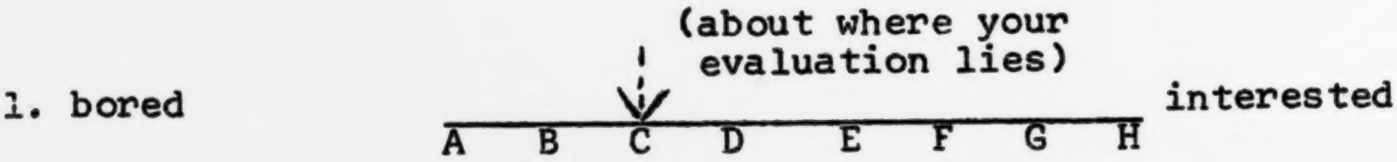
Suppose your impression of the child was that he closely related to the interested end of the bored-interested scale, but not extremely so:


(about where your evaluation lies)
1. bored
interested
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H

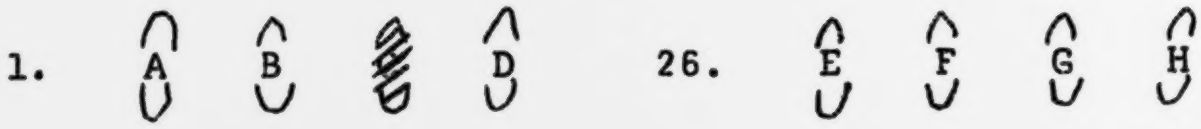
You would mark the IBM card as follows:


1.
A
B
C
D
26.
E
F
H

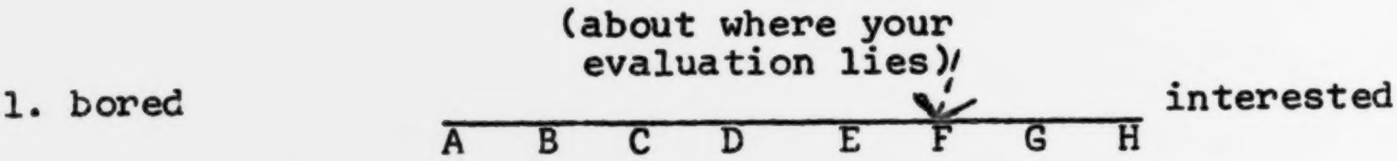
Suppose your impression of the child was that he was somewhat related to one end of the scale but not very close. That is, the individual is somewhat bored.


(about where your evaluation lies)
1. bored
interested
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H

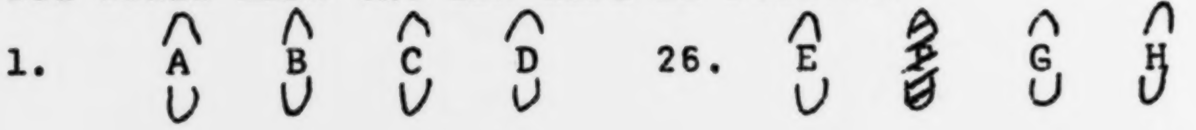
You would mark the IBM card as follows:


1.
A
B
D
26.
E
F
G
H

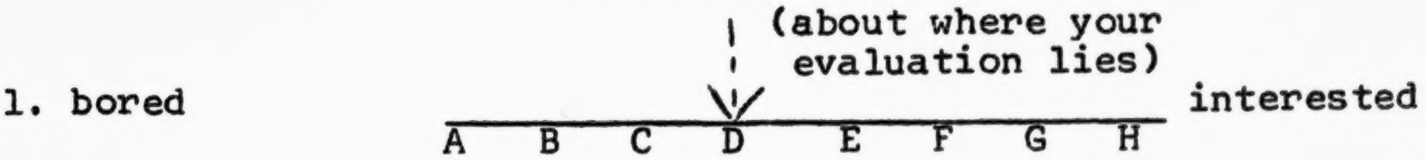
Suppose, in your estimation, the child was somewhat interested , but not very close to the interested end of the scale.


(about where your evaluation lies)
1. bored
interested
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H

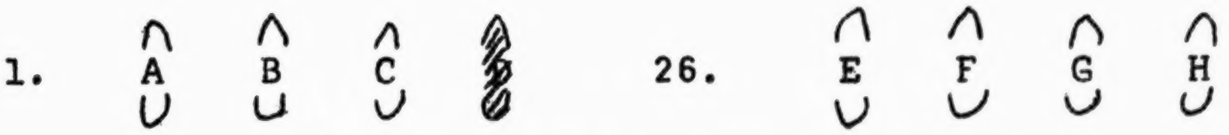
You would mark the IBM card as follows:


1.
A
B
C
D
26.
E
G
H

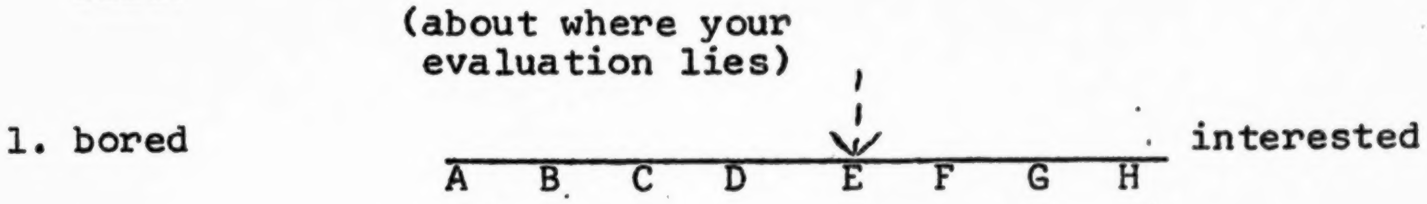
Suppose your impression of the pupil was that he was sort of "middling" but leaning slightly more to the bored side of the scale than the interested side:



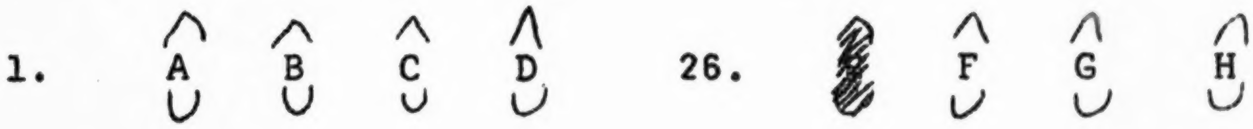
You would record your evaluation on the IBM card thusly:



Conversely, if your impression of the individual is that he is leaning slightly more to the interested side than the bored side:



You would mark the IBM card as follows:



The direction toward which you answer depends, of course, upon which of the two ends of the scales seem more characteristic of the pupil you are judging.

Suppose, however, you consider the child to be neutral on a particular scale item, or both sides of the scale are equally associated with your evaluation, or the scale is completely irrelevant, that is unrelated to your impression of the individual. Nevertheless, you still should make a guess. In this instance, you would answer ordinarily in box D or E. Every item should be answered.

Sometimes you may feel as though you've had the same item before on this scale. Answer it just the same. Do not look back and forth through the items. Do not try to remember how you checked similar scales earlier in the test. Make each scale item a separate and independent judgment. However, do not worry about or dwell upon individual items.

Work at a fairly high rate of speed. On the other hand, please do not be careless.

In answering Form 1, use Exam Card No.1. In answering Form 2, use Exam Card No. 2. Follow this procedure for all 5 forms, i.e., for Form 5 use Exam Card No. 5. Do not put your answers or any other information on the questionnaires. Please do not identify yourself on the IBM cards.

If you have any questions, please raise your hand. If not, proceed to fill in the scales. You may, if you desire, reread the vignette or refer back to it at any time.

When you have answered all 5 Forms, please raise your hand.

Form 1 - Exam Card 1

1. bored ________________ interested
A B C D E F G H

3. shows leadership ________________ shows no leadership
A B C D E F G H

5. hard to know ________________ easy to know
A B C D E F G H

7. creative ________________ unimaginative
A B C D E F G H

9. popular ________________ unpopular
A B C D E F G H

11. selfish ________________ generous
A B C D E F G H

13. physically sick ________________ physically healthy
A B C D E F G H

15. realistic ________________ unrealistic
A B C D E F G H

17. humble ________________ proud
A B C D E F G H

19. an interesting pupil ________________ a colorless pupil
A B C D E F G H

21. devious ________________ honest
A B C D E F G H

23. scholastically clever ________________ scholastically dull
A B C D E F G H

25. tense ________________ relaxed
A B C D E F G H

Form 2 - Exam Card 2

1. cooperative	A B C D E F G H	uncooperative
3. socially acceptable	A B C D E F G H	socially unacceptable
5. moody	A B C D E F G H	even-tempered
7. far from me	A B C D E F G H	close to me
9. masculine	A B C D E F G H	feminine
11. self-controlled	A B C D E F G H	unrestrained
13. careful	A B C D E F G H	lax
15. maladjusted	A B C D E F G H	adjusted
17. mature	A B C D E F G H	immature
19. authoritarian	A B C D E F G H	democratic
21. rational	A B C D E F G H	irrational
23. low class	A B C D E F G H	middle class
25. modest	A B C D E F G H	arrogant

Form 3 - Exam Card 3

1. serious	A B C D E F G H	flippant
3. tactful	A B C D E F G H	tactless
5. neurotic	A B C D E F G H	normal
7. capable of improvement	A B C D E F G H	incapable of improvement
9. admirable	A B C D E F G H	contemptible
11. needs to be prodded	A B C D E F G H	self-motivated
13. noisy	A B C D E F G H	quiet
15. hostile	A B C D E F G H	friendly
17. fastidious	A B C D E F G H	slovenly
19. predictable	A B C D E F G H	puzzling
21. active	A B C D E F G H	passive
23. bad	A B C D E F G H	good
25. secure	A B C D E F G H	insecure

Form 4 - Exam Card 4

1. gregarious ________ keeps to himself
A B C D E F G H

3. calm ________ excitable
A B C D E F G H

6. overly sensitive and touchy ________ not overly sensitive nor touchy
A B C D E F G H

7. accepted by peers ________ rejected by peers
A B C D E F G H

9. impulsive ________ logical
A B C D E F G H

11. adaptable ________ rigid
A B C D E F G H

13. hateful ________ lovable
A B C D E F G H

15. thoughtless ________ considerate
A B C D E F G H

17. beyond hope ________ not beyond hope
A B C D E F G H

19. clean ________ dirty
A B C D E F G H

21. sad ________ happy
A B C D E F G H

23. easy to get along with ________ difficult to get slong with
A B C D E F G H

25. psychologically healthy ________ psychologically ill
A B C D E F G H

Form 5 - Exam Card 5

1. obedient	A B C D E F G H	disobedient
3. frustrated	A B C D E F G H	satisfied
5. attractive	A B C D E F G H	unattractive
7. participates well with others	A B C D E F G H	participates poorly with others
9. responsible	A B C D E F G H	irresponsible
11. conforming	A B C D E F G H	non-conforming
13. innocuous	A B C D E F G H	harmful
15. pessimistic	A B C D E F G H	optimistic
17. ambitious	A B C D E F G H	lazy
19. insolent	A B C D E F G H	courteous
21. well-integrated	A B C D E F G H	poorly integrated
23. intolerant of others	A B C D E F G H	tolerant of others
25. dawdling	A B C D E F G H	speedy

Personal Data Form

While your answers to the various questionnaires are, of course, anonymous, it is obvious that knowing something about your background will be important in interpreting the data. For this reason, we respectfully request your assistance and cooperation in finishing this survey. This form, incidentally, will be the last one you are called upon to fill out. Thank you.

Age________ Sex________ Race____________

Years of full time teaching_____________

City where you received your B.A. _____________________

Number of earned post-graduate credits, excluding this term_______

Ethnic composition of pupils in class you are teaching:

white __________

Negro __________

Puerto Rican __________

Other __________

Do not teach __________

Grade level of class you are teaching:

Kindergarten __________

1-6 __________

7-8 __________

Junior High __________

High School __________

Type of teaching license ________________

Is it reasonable to expect that you will be leaving teaching within the next five years?

Yes ______

No ______

How satisfied would you say most teachers are in the school where you teach? Check one.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very Satisfied		Satisfied		Middling or hard to say		Dissatisfied		Very Dissatisfied

What do you think of the various scales used in rating the pupil? You may be specific or general in your comments.

What comments do you have about the pupil you have evaluated?

What changes, if any, would you like to see in our educational system (aside from salary and other financial benefits)?

What complaints, if any, do you overhear teachers make of their pupils?

What complaints, if any do you overhear pupil make of teachers?

SELF-DESCRIPTION

In this booklet, you will find a series of brief paragraphs describing a person's tendencies, reactions, feelings, or behavior. Read all of the paragraphs carefully, bearing in mind how well you think the paragraph describes you. Not all the adjectives or phrases in each paragraph will describe you equally well. In such cases, use the overall impression you get from the paragraph in making your decision.

After reading all of the paragraphs, decide which one of them describes you best and place the number 1 on the line that is next to that paragraph. Then place the number 2 after that paragraph that describes you next best, 3 after that paragraph which is in the third position and so on down the list to number 20, which you would place alongside of that paragraph that describes you least well of all the paragraphs. In this fashion, you will be ranking the paragraphs from most to least descriptive from 1 to 20.

You may find it simplest to work from both ends toward the middle. That is, you may find it easier if you find the most descriptive paragraph first and then the least descriptive one, and continue working towards the middle.

DO NOT USE THE SAME NUMBER FOR MORE THAN ONE PARAGRAPH.

To aid you in this regard, there is a series of numbers at the end of the paragraphs. Please cross out each number in this series that you have used so that you will find if any errors in the use of numbers have been made.

DESCRIPTIVE PARAGRAPHS

A. I passively submit to external forces. I accept injury, blame , criticism and punishment. I surrender. I am resigned to fate. I admit my inferiorities, errors, wrong-doings or defeats. I blame myself. ______

B. I accomplish difficult things. I try to overcome obstacles and to achieve a high standard. I compete with others and try to surpass them. I am ambitious and aspiring. ______

C. I like to be with and enjoy cooperating with other people. I like to please and win the affection of others whom I like. I like to be with friends and am loyal to them. I love and trust others. ______

D. I overcome opposition forcefully. I fight and attack. In my talk I belittle, censure or ridicule others. I am argumentative. I am severe with others. ______

E. I resist coercion and restrictions. I avoid or leave activities in which others try to dominate me. I am indepent and free to act according to impulse. I defy convention. ______

F. I avoid situations in which I might be blamed for my actions. I avoid situations in which I might lose the love of others. I am apprehensive, inhibited, and fearful about hurting others. I try to be inoffensive. I am concerned about the opinions of others. ______

G. Should I fail in something I return to master it. I overcome my weaknesses and repress my fears. I do things to prove I can do them. I am determined. I maintain my self-respect on a high level. ______

H. I defend myself against criticism, blame, and attack. I conceal or justify my mistakes and failures. I refuse to admit my inferiorities and weaknesses. ______

I. I admire and support people who are superior to me. I believe in conforming to the wishes of my superiors. I conform to custom. I am obliging. I admire, give respect and revere others. ______

J. I control my environment. I influence others. I am forceful, masterful, assertive, and authoritative. I am confident in my relations with others. ______

K. I try to make an impression on others. In a group I am seen and heard. I entertain others, attract attention to myself, and enjoy an audience. I try to excite, amaze, shock or amuse others. ______

L. I avoid pain, physical injury, and illness. I stay away from dangerous situations. I am cautious and hesitant about being in situations where I might encounter harm. ______

M. I avoid situations which may be humiliating or embarrassing to me. I am inclined to avoid action because I fear failure. I get nervous and embarrassed before and during an event. I am easily ashamed or mortified after the event. ______

N. I am a sympathetic person. I enjoy helping helpless people. I am inclined to support, protect, and comfort others. I avoid hurting others. __________

O. I like to put things in order. To be neat, clean, tidy and precise are every important to me. I like to arrange and organize things. __________

P. I do things for fun and without any further purpose. I enjoy play and relaxation from stress. I like to laugh and joke about things. I am easy-going, light-hearted and merry. __________

Q. I am ver critical and discriminating in the choice of friends. I stay away from people whom I dislike. I am indifferent to, avoid, or reject people who are inferior to me. I am inclined to be snobbish. I tend to be disgusted and bored with other people. __________

R. I seek and enjoy sensuous impressions. I have and enjoy aesthetic feelings. __________

S. I like to establish relationships with the opposite sex. I am not afraid of my sexual feelings. I enjoy feelings of love and of being attracted to the opposite sex. __________

T. I am drawn to people who can sympathize with me. I seek out people who can advise and guide me and who give me emotional support. I seek affection and tenderness from others. __________

In the series that appears below, cross out the numbers you have used thus checking to see that you have not omitted any number or used any number twice.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20